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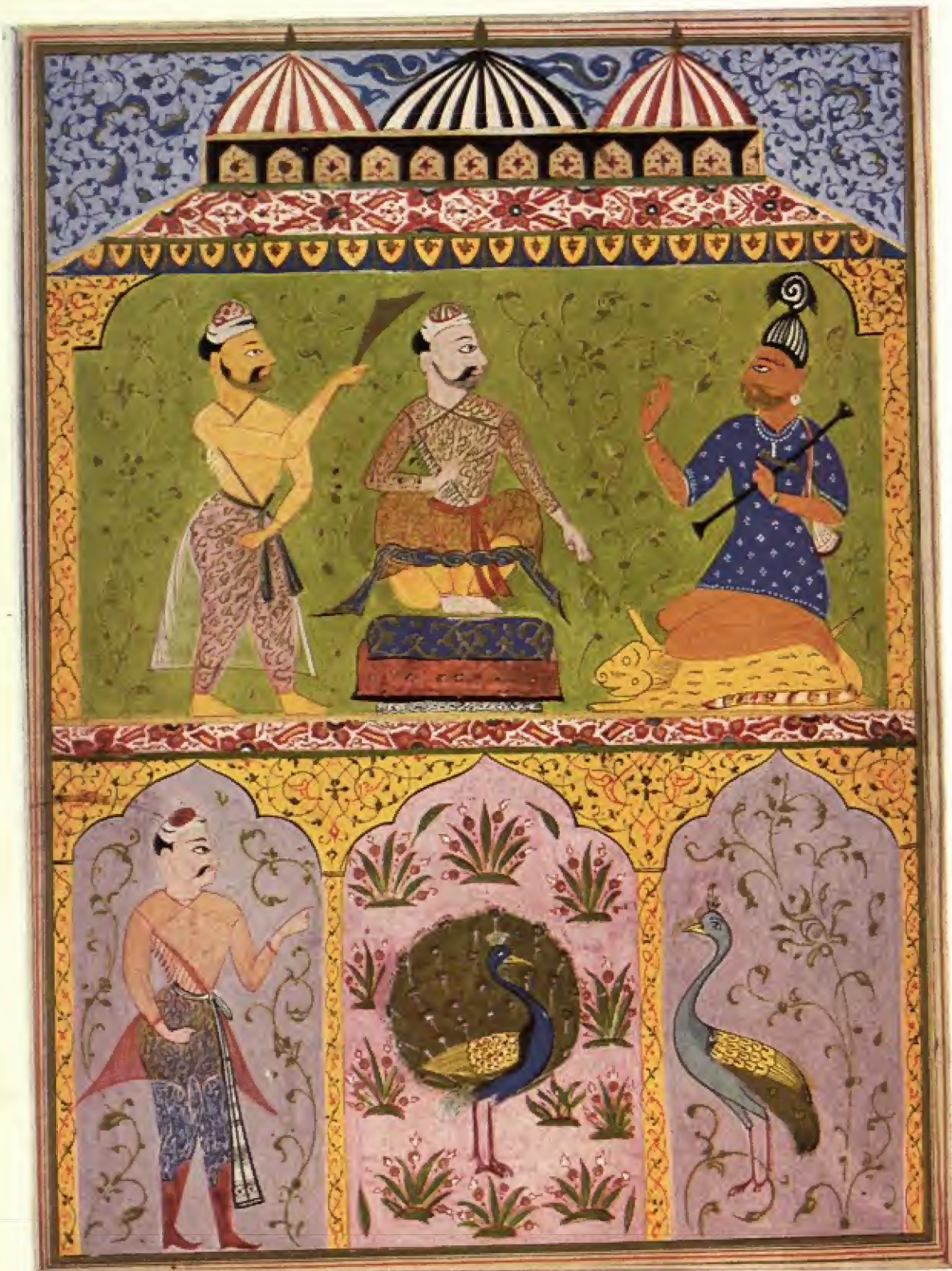
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The meeting of a yogī and Rão Rūpchand. *Laur Ghandā*. Jaunpur. U.P. (?). c. 1525-1550 A.D.

A STUDY IN THE TERRACOTTAS FROM MIRPURKHAS

Moti Chandra

In the beginning of the fourth century a new star in the form of the Imperial Guptas was rising in the Indian firmament. In the course of the century the Guptas not only consolidated their power and fought a relentless war against the forces of disruption but they also formulated a new way of life and aesthetic approach which left a permanent impress on arts, literature and the life and culture of the following centuries. The scene of action of the Guptas in the beginning was confined to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, but soon after, their sphere of activity extended covering over almost all of Northern, Central, and Western India. The conquests of Samudragupta brought him face to face with the peoples and rulers of North Western Frontier of India and also the independent states of Central and South India. These conquests, however, were more or less in the nature of cultural expansion. In the North-West the decaying art traditions of Gandhāra under the ennobling influences of the Gupta plastic art, took up a new meaning and a new mode of expression in clay and stucco became order of the day. Crossing the frontiers of India, the Gupta influence left its indelible impression on the art of eastern Afghanistan, and proceeding still further it deeply influenced the Central Asian wall-painting, stuccoes and terracotta figurines.

It was, however, not for the first time that Indian influences travelled beyond the official boundaries of the land. The sculpture from Tirmiz in the Hermitage Museum, Moscow, seem to have been influenced by Mathura in workmanship and feeling. In certain door frames of 1st-2nd century A.D. from Palmyra, Henri Seyrig sees Indian influence. One piece shows the vine rhizome on the convex surface and a flat band with vine pattern between the two listels decorated with fillets and pearls and unbricated leaves. Between the listels appear bouquets of laurel. Apparently, the design seems to have been copied from a wooden door frame. These carvers had a predilection for round mouldings. In the opinion of H. Seyrig, the origin of the piece could not be south Russia or Egypt. Even at Palmyra the frequent imitation of the technique of wood carving does not share the characteristics of the door fragments under review. The fragments are not based on Western models, nor they show signs of degeneration. They, however, reveal very strong resemblances with certain door frames from Mathura. The same decorative elements, though in a simpler form, appear in Gandhāran reliefs of the 1st-2nd century A.D. The presence of Indian motifs at Palmyra explains that the Palmyran merchants did not proceed to the Persian Gulf only to receive the products of the Orient, but as an inscription informs us, they proceeded as far as North-West India. The contacts between Palmyra and India continued in the second century and

much later. The origin of the vine motif, however, is not Indian and to study it further we have to look to Parthia.¹

For a scientific study of the extension of Gupta art in the West, the pre-mises must be established on a solid foundation and certain misconceptions removed. As a preliminary step, one should be careful in defining the term Gupta art and its extensions. It is often argued that the term Gupta art in its all India context is a misnomer, as the sphere of Gupta influence was confined only to the North. The protagonists of this view argue that the frescoes and sculptural art of Ajanta, as well as the later phase of sculptural art at Karle and Kanheri, though related to Gupta art, have a distinctive flavour of their own. Whatever truth there may be in the rival claims the term Gupta art indicates here a new outlook which metamorphosed Indian life and culture in more than one way. In the beginning, confined to Madhyadeśa, this new outlook on life and culture soon spread all over the country. This new movement was not coercive; under its benign influence art in different parts of the country took a new meaning in which form and spirit received equal attention. When we talk of Gupta art it implies the underlying spirit which has nothing to do with the regional boundaries and the role played by individual rulers or dynasties in the development of Indian art.

It would perhaps be pertinent here to inquire about certain distinctive features of Gupta art as evidenced by the mass of material in the form of sculptures, paintings and terracottas. It is obvious that for immediate inspiration the Guptas had before them the Kushāṇa art of Mathura with emphasis on the flesh than on the spirit, the art of Gandhāra distinctly moulded by Graeco-Roman tradition and also the art of Amaravati emphasising a nervous sensitivity hitherto unknown in Indian art. The story of Indian sculpture after the disintegration of the imperial Kushāṇas in the second century A.D. and the rise of the Guptas in the fourth is one of decadence. On the North-Western Frontiers of India the Gandhāra school had degenerated into repetitious mechanical formulae. In the Deccan and the South as well with the disintegration of the Sātavāhanas their sculptural art once noted for its dramatic vigour, social genre and spirit of synthesis had degenerated and left a void. The genius of the Guptas lay in the fact that while selecting wisely certain elements from ancient art tradition such as modelling and standards of human beauty, it added a new element probing the deep mysteries of life, transcendental wisdom and the metaphysical and symbolical concepts which lay behind the iconographic forms of the Indian gods and goddesses. Beauty to Gupta artists was not the feel of the flesh, but something sacred and noble which was in perfect accord with the beauty of the spirit.

The newly found ideals of art required a redefinition of the already existing forms and the transformation of the new concepts in temple architecture, sculpture and painting. Architecture, both Hindu and Buddhist, if it were

¹ Henry Seyrig, *Ornaments Palmyrina antiqua*, Syria, XXI (1940), pp. 271-397.

to be in stone naturally required plenty of money and time. But the people in the Gupta age seem to have been in a hurry to propagate their newly made discoveries in the field of aesthetics and art forms as extensively and within as short a time as possible. Building of the brick temples and *stūpas* and decorating them with carved and moulded bricks and figures caught their fertile imagination as this new mode of construction was cheaper. These brick temples and *stūpas* not only became common in Northern and Central India, but some of the splendid brick *stūpas* from Sindh and the recently excavated *stūpa* at Devnimori in northern Gujarat and the Ranga Mahal terracotta figures from Bikaner State² prove brick construction as a favourite medium of artistic expression. This new movement in architecture and sculpture was not strictly confined to India proper only but its westward extension to Afghanistan is clearly indicated. As a matter of fact the popularity of terracotta and stucco figures was so great that *leypa-karma* 'terracotta manufacture' and *pustakarma* 'stucco work' became recognised technical terms in the artistic vocabulary of the period. The outstanding feature of the art of terracotta manufacture of this period exemplified by the terracotta sculptures from Ushkur, Akhnur, and Rangmahal and moulded and carved bricks and figures from Mirpurkhas and Devnimori shows a happy synthesis between the Gandhāran and Guptan traditions.

The reason behind this synthesis may be found in close contact which the expeditions of Samudragupta (c. 330-370 A.D.) established between Gandhāra and Madhyadeśa, a fact mentioned in his Allahabad pillar inscription. The extension of Gupta influences in Sindh which left in its wake a number of brick *stūpas*, however, may be attributed to Chandragupta II (c. 375-412 A.D.) or his successors. Among the exploits of Chandragupta mentioned in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription he is said to have crossed the seven mouths of the river Indus to mount an expedition to Afghanistan. But above all these political achievements lay the close cultural and commercial relations between Madhyadeśa and the far lying parts of India and Central Asia in this period.

The cultural and political contacts with Western India should not lead us to believe that the extension of Gupta culture was only one way traffic. As a matter of fact in keeping with the spirit of synthesis which actuated Indian artists in every age, the Gupta artists did not hesitate to borrow, but at the same time gave the foreign elements an Indian colour and meaning. What was taking place in Western Panjab (Pakistan) in the late fourth or early fifth century in the wake of Gupta renaissance in Madhyadeśa is amply illustrated by the stucco figures found in the excavations of Jaulian, Taxila. A. Foucher, oblivious of the part the Guptas played in the revival of the dying art of Gandhāra simply observes that though stone sculpture in the fourth and fifth centuries declined, "the clay and stucco modelling went on maintaining a high degree of efficiency, worthy of better days".³ However, historically

² Hanna Rydh, *Rang Mahal, The Swedish Archaeological expeditions to India, 1952-54*, Lunel (Sweden), 1959, Pis. 73, 79; *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8 (1960), pp. 55 ff.

³ Marshall, *The Stūpas and Monastery at Jaulian*, *Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 7, p. 38.

speaking it would be wrong to say that the stucco figures in Gandhāra in the preceding centuries were as beautiful and technically perfect, and that the revival was worthy of the older spirit. Similarly, his view that, "when the destructive frenzy of Mihirakula uprooted the old Graeco-Buddhist school, some of its boughs had already withered; but some were still in bloom, and its offshoots in Madhyadeśa were ready to take up its successors and perpetuate its traditions, albeit under new forms and in a new spirit" could not stand scrutiny. He is also off the mark and prejudicial when he remarks: "The works of art disinterred in Jaulian admirably illustrate the transition between the North-Western School and the Gangetic ones." To soften the force of his blow Foucher observes rather in an apologetic tone: "This transition was the more easily accomplished, as the former had for a long time been accommodating itself, in the course of its six centuries duration, to the local tastes and ideas of the people."

Apparently, Foucher's reasoning is based on the assumption that the movement of art tradition in Central India was one sided and that it was Gandhāra which was always moulding the character of the art of Madhyadeśa. This view, however, is not tenable in view of the fresh evidence. There is no doubt that in Gupta period in North-Western Frontier Provinces while Gandhāra supplied the form, it was Madhyadeśa which supplied the spirit. That this newly found technique had migrated to Afghanistan is amply illustrated by the stucco heads, and decorative mouldings from Bamiyan,⁴ and innumerable painted stucco figures from Afghanistan, aptly designated by Vogel as belonging to Indo-Afghan school. However, Indian influence is illustrated nowhere better than in the clay figures from Fondukistan,⁵ Marandjan, etc. The Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan comprises of a sanctuary and other structures, murals and clay figures. A female figure with its elongated torso, narrow waist, and developed hips, and the pearl-necklace passing between the breasts bears the clear impress of Gupta art. In another male figure the *udarabandha* is definitely Indian and except for the hair treated in short waves after Hellenistic pattern, the ornaments are also Indian. The suppleness of the Buddha figure simulates similar trait in Gupta and post-Gupta statues indicating a reaction against the artists of Gandhāra and Kapiśa. The Gupta elements in the clay figures at Fondukistan are not accidental but deep rooted. Describing the figure of a secondary divinity, Hackin rightly observes, "This representation by the subtlety of its attitude, the grace and elegance of its forms, the affection of its gesture, recalls the post-Gupta antecedents."

This Gupta-inspired art of Fondukistan has also certain debased architectural features which it shares with the architecture as depicted in terracotta mouldings from Sindh and Devnimori in Gujarat. The border of the scroll pattern in the form of a simple arcade encircling the entrance of the niche,

⁴ A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*; J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Hodḡa*; and J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Paris, 1933.

⁵ J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan (1933-1940)*, Paris, 1959, pp. 49 ff.; *The Journal of the Greater India*, VII (1940), pp. 1-17; 85-91.

the leaf-shaped ornament, the volute treated with greater ease, the pilasters with squat shafts surmounted with pseudo-Corinthian capitals, and the masks are common decorative motifs in clay and terracotta figures from Afghanistan and Gujarat.

There is an interesting literary reference which alludes to commercial and cultural relations between Bihar and the distant Sindh. It is mentioned in the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna* (37) of the *Divyāvadāna*⁶ that merchants from Rājagṛiha were in the habit of visiting Roruka (modern Rohri in Western Pakistan). Once having heard from the merchants of Rājagṛiha about the greatness of their city, the ruler of Roruka, on the advice of his ministers, sent to the ruler of Rājagṛiha a present of costly jewels accompanied by a complimentary letter. When the gift reached Rājagṛiha, its ruler reciprocated and sent to Roruka a present of very costly textile pieces. The ruler of Roruka not to be outdone in magnanimity, again sent to Rājagṛiha a priceless jewelled armour endowed with magical properties. This gift put the ruler of Rājagṛiha into difficulties as he had no worthy gift with which to reciprocate the jewelled armour from the ruler of Roruka. In order to resolve his dilemma he approached the Buddha and asked his advice. The Buddha advised him that nothing could be more valuable gift than a portrait of the Buddha himself. One day the Lord was invited at the king's house and at his request a cloth was brought on which his (Buddha) shadow was reflected; it was later on filled with colours and inscribed with the following verses :

आरभध्वं निष्क्रामतयुज्यध्वं बुद्धशासने
धुनीत मृत्युनः सैन्यं नडागारमिव कुञ्जरः ॥ १ ॥
अस्मिन् यो धर्मविनये ह्यप्रमत्तश्चरिष्यति
प्रहाय जातिसंसारं दुःखस्यान्तं करिष्यसि ॥ २ ॥

At the order of Buddha the ruler of Rājagṛiha, while sending the portrait to the king of Roruka, requested him to receive it with great pomp and show. At first the king of Roruka lost his temper at this unheard of request, but his minister advised him to accept the gift. Later on he came to know that it was the portrait of Buddha and paid his homage to it.

It is, however, surprising that though this Romano-Gupta tradition had spread in Western India even in the form of a series of *stūpas* in Sindh, Pakistan, the most important being Mirpurkhas no notice has been taken of them except for a short notice by Henry Cousens⁷. Even the material from Mirpurkhas now in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum has received practically no attention.

The Buddhist *stūpa* at Mirpurkhas had a square basement almost 17 ft. high. The cylindrical tower with domed top rising to almost 38 ft. left a flat

⁶ *Divyāvadāna*, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1959. pp. 465 ff.

⁷ H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 82 ff.

terrace round the base of the tower and on the top of the basement which served as a circumambulatory path. The tower was probably decorated with one or more bands of pilasters, numerous string courses and mouldings of sculptured or moulded bricks. The dome must have been crowned with a wooden umbrella. The railing was probably of wood.

In this connection attention may again be drawn to an incident in the *Rudrāyaṇāvadānā* in the *Divyāvadāna* (Ib. p. 488). It is said that once upon a time a goddess was presented a very fine fabric of Kāśī (*Kāśika*). She then using it as a mantle consecrated the Stūpa and celebrated the event. This occasion became known as Kāśīmaha all over India. According to Dr. V. S. Agrawala an imitation of the Vārāṇasī Stūpa was raised in Sind where also the Kāśīmaha festival was celebrated. Perhaps this was the great Mirpurkhas Stūpa, built of moulded and figured terracottas of great delicacy.⁸

An outstanding feature of the Mirpurkhas finds is a large number of carved bricks varied in pattern and of very superior workmanship. Among the designs are several forms of Greek fret, chequers, rosettes, lozenges, palmates, T-pattern mouldings, stylised leaves, acanthus, masks etc. There is little doubt that the inspiration is Gandhāran tempered by Gupta tradition which gave a new lease of life to the decadent tradition of Gandhāra.

It may be noted here that certain decorative patterns at Mirpurkhas share common origin with the decorative motif of Gandhāra art, though in the course of their diffusion to Western India they became more and more Indianised. Take for example the masks: At Bāmyan⁹ the masks retain some of their Graeco-Roman characteristics but at Mirpurkhas some of them come closer to the *kīrtimukhas*. The *kīrtimukha* sprouting pearl strings, a characteristic motif of Gupta and post-Gupta period, appears at Mirpurkhas. The triple or double sided palmate held together with a ring, a classic device, takes a new form at Mirpurkhas—the palmate becomes taller, the serration becomes more slender, the ring becomes beaded and the half-rosette adds to the balance of the decorative concept.

The terracotta images of the Buddha from Mirpurkhas, however, deserve special notice. In these figures though the traces of Gandhāra tradition are apparent in modelling and in the treatment of drapery, the entire concept of the Buddha with his 'wet' drapery, the nobility of the features, the deep contemplative mood and the decorative haloes bring them within the orbit of Gupta art.

There is another class of human figure at Mirpurkhas in which there is hardly any trace of Gandhāran influence. The figure of a donor with his curly wig, ovaloid face and well-shaped legs is typically Gupta. The simplicity of ornaments and costume reminds us of Ajanta, Bhumara and Deoghar. The

⁸ *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Sunday, Feb. 10, 1944, p. 36.

⁹ J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Paris 1933. Pl. LXXXIII.

figure of Kubera with his schematic curls and typical Guptan features, a devotee carrying lotus flowers, musicians and dancers, and a *mithuna* figure without doubt owe inspiration to their prototypes in Madhyadeśa. The typically Guptan element in the Mirpurkhas terracottas could be extended further in elephant brackets. The figures of birds are stylised and the birds with floriated tails forming an element of the scroll appearing in a lotus rhizome, or in conjunction with Yakshas remind us of the painted scrolls at Bagh and Ajanta and carved stone-facing of the Dhamek Stūpa at Sarnath. While in palmates, acanthus, frets etc., the Gandhāran elements are apparent in certain scrolls with twisting leaves and tendrils the inspiration is Indian.

It would perhaps be interesting here to compare the various elements which constituted the art of Mirpurkhas with similar elements appearing in the Middle Indian belt. A terracotta plaque depicting the Buddha seated in cross-legged position with the drapery in deep folds bearing the clear impress of Gandhāra, proves that at least in the fifth century A.D. even Kasia, the ancient Kusinagara, situated in a corner of eastern Uttar Pradesh where Buddha entered *Nirvāṇa* was not immune to North-Western influences.¹⁰

The comparison of decorative motifs in the Gupta temple of Bhumara¹¹ and Deogarh¹² and Sarnath with those appearing in the carved bricks from Mirpurkhas and elsewhere offer convincing evidence of the both way traffic. Denticulated columns, palmates in varieties of combination, *chaitya* windows filled with rosettes, different kinds of rosettes, scrolls with or without Yakshas, chequers, masks etc., in the decorative motifs in the Gupta temple at Bhumara and Deogarh bear such a close resemblance with their counterparts from Mirpurkhas that their common origin and tradition could not be merely a matter of speculation.

It would be interesting here to examine some literary references which throw light on the decorative motifs and aesthetic view point of Gupta art. Varāhamihara in his *Bṛihat Samhitā*¹³, gives a succinct description of the decorative motifs used on the doorway of Gupta temples in the following couplet:—

शेषं मांगल्यविहगैः श्रीवृक्षस्वस्तिकैर्घटैः
मिथुनैः पत्रवल्लीभिः प्रमथैश्चोपशोभयेत्

In the previous couplet¹⁴ it is mentioned that the door had a *dvārapāla* on each side, and the rest of the space was filled with auspicious birds (*māṅgalya-vihaga*), palmyra tree (*srī-vṛksha*), *svastika*, pitchers (*kumbha*), *mithunas*, creepers (*patravalli*), and dwarfs (*pramatha*). All these motifs, in some form or other, appear in the Gupta monuments of Madhyadeśa and also at Mirpurkhas.

¹⁰ A. S. Ann. Rep. 1904-05, p. 47, fig. 2.

¹¹ R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind. No. 16.

¹² M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind. No. 70.

¹³ *Bṛihat Samhitā* LXVI, 15.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, LXVI, 14.

It should, however, be clearly understood that these motifs could not be called specifically Gupta as they also appear in Kushāṇa sculptures. In such condition it would be safe to say that the Gupta architects gave these decorative elements a fresh outlook and refined finish.

Similarly, some interesting information about the Gupta motifs also appears in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 43, 14-16. Enumerating the motifs in painting and also sculpture it says :—

निधिश्चङ्गान्वृषान् राजन्निधिहस्तान् मतङ्गजान् ।
निधिविद्यावरान् राजन्वयो गरुडस्तथा ॥
हनूमांश्च सुमङ्गल्याः ये च लोके प्रकीर्तिताः ।
लिखितव्यां महाराज गृहेषु सततं नृगाम् ॥

"O king, in the residences of men should always be painted the 'treasure horns' (*nidhiśringān*) of bulls, the 'treasure handles' made of elephant tusks (*mataṅgajān*), the eight *nidhis*, Vidyādhara, the *Rishis* (*siddhas*), Garuḍas, the 'wide jawed' one (*hanūmān*), the auspicious women (*sumāṅgalāḥ*) and the auspicious symbols which are famous all over the world."

Nidhiśringa: There is no doubt that by *nidhiśringas* consisting of bull horns and horn-shaped ivory handles, the cornucopia is meant here. V. S. Agrawala¹⁵ has cited many literary references to support this view. In the *Kaṇva-parvan* 6, 37, of the *Mahābhārata*, Duryodhana while anointing Kaṇva as his commander-in-chief poured water on his head filled in the horns of a bull and a rhinoceros and a scooped out elephant tusk. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* II, 16, 23, Rāma, at the time of his coronation, was expected to put on the horn of a deer, (*kuṇḍa-śringa*) as a lucky symbol. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 26, 33-34, again the monkey chiefs anointed Sugrīva at the time of his coronation with auspicious bull horns (*śubhaiḥ vṛṣabhaśringaiścha*).

The Greek cornucopia was the horn of abundance and plenty. It constantly appears on coins and in the works of art, especially in the Roman period as the symbol of abundance. In the later Kushāṇa and Gupta coins as well Lakshmi is shown holding the cornucopia. A bronze cornucopia has been recently found from Thanā near Bombay. It is, however, not known how far this motif was used in Gupta art. The eight *nidhis* namely — *Padma*, *Mahāpadma*, *Makara*, *Kachchhapa*, *Mukunda*, *Nanda*, *Nīla* and *Śankha* (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 68,5-6) are well-known motifs in Gupta art.

The cornucopia, however, appears on the head-dress of the Indian ivory figure from Pompeii¹⁶ and is figured as pegs in the Uttara Kuru scene on the Eastern Gateway at Sanchi from which ornaments are shown hanging. In some of the Gandhāra sculptures a Tutelary Couple and Demeter-Hārīti are

¹⁵ *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVII, Part II, 1955, pp. 92-94.

¹⁶ *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 6, 1953-59, pp. 25 ff., Fig. 1a.

shown holding the cornucopia.¹⁷ Bachhofer identifies the Tutelary Couple as the Iranian divinities Farro and Ardoksho.

Vidyādhara: The flying figures of heavenly musician form an important element in Gupta art.

Rishi: Apparently the Siddhas are meant here. In Gandhāra and Kushāṇa art these bearded magical beings are often shown flying in the sky and offering their homage to the Buddha.

Garuḍa: An important motif in Gupta art. The mythical bird appears on Gupta coins and as a vehicle of Viṣṇu. In the Kushāṇa art also Garuḍa is often depicted.¹⁸

Hanūmān: Literally the 'wide-jawed'; later on it signifies Hanumat, the Monkey God. In the Gupta context, however, Hanūmān could not be the Monkey God, as the iconography of Hanūmān is of late origin. There is every possibility that originally the word Hanūmān stood for mask, *kīrtimukha* being a much later word for it.

Sumaṅgalī: Here the Surasundarīs considered to be auspicious symbols are meant.¹⁹

In the following couplet in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, 73.21 some outstanding characteristics of the Gupta art are emphasised:—

लसतीव च भूलम्भो श्लिष्यतीव तथा नृप ।
हसतीव च माधुर्यं सजीव इव दृश्यते ॥

Dr. Stella Kramrisch's translation of the verse is as follows:—

"One that seems as if dancing by its posture or appears to look frightened, laughing or graceful, thereby appears as if endowed with life as if breathing".²⁰

Unfortunately, the translation though literal hardly gives any sense. In my opinion, however, the couplet gives in a nutshell the outstanding features of Gupta art. Freely translated, it lays stress on the realism of (*sajīva*) of Gupta art tempered by Gandhāran influence. The figure decorates as it were the perpendicular line of the stance; the composition as in the case of bas-relief seems to come out of the frame to greet the spectators, and such is its beauty that it derides as it were the sweetness, a distinguishing feature of art.

While discussing certain problems concerned with the evolution and extension of Gupta art it may perhaps be interesting to examine the views of Dr. H. Goetz, which would have been summarily dismissed had they come

¹⁷ H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, Figs. 345, 347.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Figs. 350, 351, 352.

¹⁹ R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, Pl. XI, b.c.

²⁰ Stella Kramrisch, *The Vishṇudharmottara*, pt. III, Calcutta, 1928, p. 61.

from a lesser known authority. His thesis is that that Gupta art is more imitative than original and that the Imperial Rome and its dependencies in the Middle East exercised a very deep influence on almost all its phases.²¹ To support his view, Dr. Goetz has analysed the various constituents of Gupta art and architecture. Nailed down to his view he sees in simple Gupta temple-architecture Graeco-Roman influence, though to a limited extent. To quote him, "Thus, if the Graeco-Roman inspiration of the type as a whole cannot be denied, it has been elaborated in quite an independent manner, making use of traditional Indian forms, using them however in a quite novel way." Dr. Goetz admits that with the advent of the *śikhara* in temple architecture this influence in the time of Kumāragupta I (413-4/453) disappeared, but according to him in the *śikhara* as well a foreign idea, the Babylonian ziggurat is reinterpreted in an Indian manner.²² This idea, according to Dr. Goetz, is supposed to have originated with the introduction of astrology in the Gupta period, possibly connected with the Mihira-Sūrya cult and the introduction of *navagraha* panels at both sides of the *garbhagriha*. He stresses that even the temple door and its decoration is deeply influenced by later Hellenistic-Roman motifs. The rectangular flat frame, the scroll fringe in which the *ganās* i.e., the Erotes frolic, the moulding in the shape of acanthus garland, etc. are deeply influenced by the Roman parallels. The niches serving as places for statues, the pediments, the cornice, the ceiling, the columns and the pilasters and other decorative motifs all bear the Roman impress. In short, if Dr. Goetz is to be believed, there is nothing specifically Indian in Gupta art.

Such is the enthusiasm of Dr. Goetz for his thesis which aims at demolishing the accepted theories in vogue that he is determined to hold it at any cost inspite of historical and other difficulties. For instance his theory of introduction of astrology in Gupta period is too good to be true and no serious student of art would accept his theory of the reintroduction of ziggurat motif in this age; it is certainly a much more ancient borrowing in Indian art than Dr. Goetz supposes. Accidental resemblances or borrowings from common Western Asiatic sources do not trouble him in the least. It has been generally accepted that Gupta literature serves as a proper background for the study of art motifs of the period, and fortunately the learned Doctor does not claim the Gupta literature was Roman wine in an Indian bottle. He is, however, uncharitable to Gupta literature when he observes: "The literary claims are most vague, referring to personalities either unknown otherwise, or of purely mythological character." After this appraisal of literature without whose help many of the phases of Gupta art would have remained an enigma one need not argue further.

Firmly convinced of his thesis, Dr. Goetz is so much prejudiced against the Guptas that in his opinion, "Indeed one feels that intentionally everything was done to disguise any foreign inspiration.... It pilfered foreign ideas and

²¹ H. Goetz, *Imperial Rome and the Geneses of Classical Indian Art*, East and West, Supp. 1959, p. 154.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

types with no more scruples and no more acknowledgement than that given in the France of Louis XIV or Germany in the time of Schiller and Goethe. It went so far as to deny all such foreign loans. For it was an age of proud nationalism, and its society was without scruples in this respect."²³

One fails to understand Dr. Goetz's diatribes against Gupta art. If the Guptas loved their country and evolved a nationalistic culture they certainly could not be accused of perfidy. Gupta art certainly did not feel shy of 'foreign art' and one must admit that Gandhāran art nurtured on Graeco-Roman tradition had already flourished in North-Western India for at least three centuries before the Gupta art and had developed its own tradition. When the Guptas appeared on the scene Gandhāran art had reached a stage of decadence from which recovery did not seem possible. If Gupta art and culture met and renovated the decaying art tradition of Gandhāra and in that process assimilated and reinterpreted some of its features, surely the Guptas instead of a wholesale condemnation deserve a bouquet of praise. As a matter of fact, the contemporary world of the Guptas was more sensible than the world today; it encouraged the idea of cultural exchanges and did not believe in the acknowledgement of courtesy notes.

II

In the study of a particular period of art the importance of analytic method could not be minimised. For that purpose a large number of objects have to be studied and their outstanding characteristics analysed. Such a method is bound to yield important results specially in determining the evolution of style and the various elements which constituted it. It also enhances our knowledge as to how far a regional style influenced the main currents of art in a particular period and how far it remained parochial. Such an analysis has, however, to be strictly objective; preconceived theories are bound to affect the scientific viewpoint. An attempt is being made here to analyse the various constituents which constituted the art of Mirpurkhas with this end in view.

GROUP I. BUDDHA FIGURES

1. Buddha in meditation (Fig. 1). Seated figure in *dhyānamudrā*; ovaloid face with arched eyebrows; broad forehead; hair locks with *ushnisha*; half closed eyes with *ūrṇā* in between; broad nose and thick lips; 'wet type' (*magnāmluka*) of garment; the rectangular frame decorated with rosettes. Note the sensitive treatment of the fingers.

2. Buddha in meditation (Fig. 2). Seated in *padmāsana* in *dhyānamudrā* on *vajrāsana* with *makara*-shaped back rest. Squarish face with thin lips; arched eyebrows and half closed eyes; 'wet drapery' with stylised folds; plain halo; rectangular frame decorated with chevron.

²³ H. Goetz, *loc. cit.* p. 264.

3. Buddha in meditation. Almost the same as No. 1 except for the following points of departure: the drapery folds are more prominent; the halo is decorated with a meander; the fringe of dentils and circles is more elaborate; the rectangular frame is decorated with lozenges and circles; the seat is made of a double lotus.

4. Buddha in meditation (Fig. 2b). Seated on a double lotus; ovaloid face with broad forehead, arched eye-brows, half closed eyes, thick lips, broad prominent nose; drapery with light folds, the end arranged in schematic folds; the halo decorated with rosettes, flowers, circles and solid triangles; the border decorated with chevron or basket pattern.

5. Buddha in meditation (Fig. 3a). The physiognomy is almost the same as in No. 4 except that the eyes have curved points; the hair is arranged in ringlets and the treatment of the smiling face is much lighter; the frame is decorated with four-petalled flowers.

6. Buddha in meditation (Fig. 3b). The physiognomy is different and may indicate Central Asian influence. The face is almost round with full cheeks, closed slanting eyes, snub nose and flat chin. The lotus seat is very prominently depicted; the halo is decorated with solid triangles and circles. The background is formed of acanthus leaves; the frame is decorated with dentils and circles.

7. Buddha in meditation (Fig. 4a). Marble. It is part of a larger composition. The Buddha is shown in meditation. In the background decorated with acanthus a flying Siddha bearded and grinning is shown.

8. Buddha in meditation. Headless image seated on lotus; the limbs are well modelled.

There are two other pieces which though belonging to the Stūpa of Mir Rukan in Sindh belong to almost the same period.

9. Buddha seated in European fashion on throne (Fig. 4b). Elaborate throne flanked with the figures of *makaras* and lions; a pilaster on either side. The haloed Buddha seated in *dharmachakra-pravartana mudrā*.

10. The Great Renunciation. Bas-relief. In the centre Yaśodharā sleeping with Siddhārtha seated by her side; attendants in the background; four female musicians in the foreground; half medallion with lotus below.

It is apparent from the Buddha images described above that at Mirpurkhas Gandhāran tradition had been greatly toned down and the type approximates more to Mathura and Sarnath than to Gandhāra. The facial types are either elongated (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5) or round (Nos. 7, 10). The ovaloid type recalls the face of an unidentified Jina bronze from Chausa in the Patna Museum assigned by Dr. U. P. Shah to the Kushāṇa period but which

is probably of later date.²⁴ It is, however, very close to the facial type of Rishabhanātha dated by Shah between 460-500 A.D. or Jivantasvāmī dated to c. 500 A.D.²⁵ There is such an approximation between the Mirpurkhas Buddhas and the early Akotā Jinas that the westward extension of Gujarat-Marwar tradition of Śārngadhara as mentioned by the Tibetan historian Tārānātha could not be ruled out. The round facial form, however, recalls the Sarnath²⁶ and Mathura²⁷ types. In westward extension of this type the convention had lost some of its proportion but nevertheless its origin is unmistakable. There is, however, a third or squarish type (No. 2) which might have been based on a Gandhāran prototype²⁸ though even here the signs of Indianisation are not wanting.

In the treatment of the drapery as well, the sharply marked folds of Gandhāra are replaced by the slightly creased drapery which is rightly designated as 'wet-type' clinging to the body. The haloes in almost all cases are decorated after the Gupta pattern. In only one case (No. 2) it is plain after the manner of Gandhāra figures.

The Buddhas have in most cases a double lotus seat which is not often seen in Gandhāra sculptures but which is a prominent feature in the later phase of the art of Amaravati.²⁹ This is not the only feature which the terracotta sculptures of Mirpurkhas share with the art of Amaravati; in the decorative frames of the panels as well we find close parallels. Decorative frame for panels begins appearing from Sanchi onwards but it assumes a picturesque character in Amaravati sculptures with the difference that while at Amaravati the elements of decoration of the frames are complex, at Mirpurkhas they are simple consisting of chevron, flowers, solid triangles, circles, etc.

The Buddha seated in European fashion from Mir Rukan might have drawn its inspiration from Gandhāran Buddha or the seated royal Śaka figures from Mathura. Buddha seated in European fashion also appears at Ajanta.³⁰ The Great Renunciation scene recalls to mind similar scenes in Gandhāra³¹ though the treatment in Mir Rukan relief seems to have been inspired by Gupta art.

GROUP II. DEITIES

11. Jambhala or Kubera (Fig. 4c). Round medallion with acanthus background. The pot-bellied god seated comfortably holding a lotus in his right

²⁴ U. P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959, Pl. 2a, 2b.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. 8 a, b.

²⁶ D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnāth*, Calcutta, 1914, Pl. X.

²⁷ Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, II, New York, 1955 fig. 101.

²⁸ Harald Ingholt, *loc. cit.*, figs. 223-224.

²⁹ P. Stern at M. Benisti, *Évolution du style Indien d'Amaravati*, Paris, 1961. Pl. LXVII, a.

³⁰ Zimmer, *loc. cit.* II, Fig. 179.

³¹ Harald Ingholt, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 139 A-B.

hand; curled hair lock, surmounted with a tiara; wears ear-rings and necklaces, an *uttariya* and *dhoti*.

12. Jambhala. Simpler type; *dhoti* tied with a belt, curled hair lock, hands broken.

It may be noted here that Jambhala at Mirpurkhas though maintaining some of the characteristic as the pot-bellied Jambhala and Hārīti composition in Gandhāran art now becomes a separate god. The figure may be compared with the standing figure of Jambhala appearing in the façade of cave XIX at Ajanta.³² The physiognomy of both the figures is the same. That the physical type of the seated Jambhala or Kubera was evolved from Yaksha or Pramatha type is evident. In the Kushāṇa sculpture the seated Jambhala, grossly fat and mustachioed, imitates a contemporary merchant or banker,³³ but in the Gupta period Kubera develops a new iconographic type with curled hair, fat contented face, pot-belly and thick lips³⁴. In the temple sculptures of Bhumara³⁵ the evolution of the seated type of Kubera could be studied. As a simple pot-bellied Pramatha he is shown seated exactly in the same way as the Mirpurkhas Jambhala. However, when this type assumes the royal pose its attitude changes. Kubera at Bhumara, seated on a throne surrounded by pots perhaps containing treasures and holding a lotus bears close resemblance with the Mirpurkhas Jambhala. The curled hair locks, the tiara, the ornaments and even the squarish face are common to both.

13. Pramatha (Fig. 4d). Acanthus in the background. The pot-bellied Pramatha his hair arranged in a wig-like fashion is playing the flute.

14. Pramatha. Broken below the navel; the dishevelled hair and the pot-belly put the figure in the category of Pramathas.

Pramathas or the *ganas* of Śiva dancing, playing on musical instruments, pot-bellied and contented play an important decorative role in Gupta art. They not only appear in sculpture and painting but sometimes their finest representations are found in the terracotta figurines from Kauśāmbī and Rajghat. These Pramathas are the same as Yakshas of Buddhist literature appearing as sprightly gambolling spirit in the lotus rhizomes. In Gupta monuments their presence is taken for granted. How closely the Mirpurkhas Yakshas approximate with the Śaivite Pramathas depicted at Deogarh³⁶ and Bhumara³⁷ may be made out by reference to their reproductions.

³² Zimmer, *loc. cit.*, II, Fig. 178.

³³ Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathura*, Paris, 1930, Pl. XLIX, b.

³⁴ R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, Pl. IXb, Top panel.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. XIIIa.

³⁶ Vats, *loc. cit.* pl. XXIV and XXV c.

³⁷ Banerji, *loc. cit.*, pl. X a.

GROUP III.—DONORS, LAYMEN

15. Donor (Fig. 5a). The fine figure of the donor shows the terracotta sculpture of Mirpurkhas at its best. He has an oval face with arched eyebrows, half-closed eyes, long nose, thick lips and schematic curled hairlocks falling on the shoulders in ringlets. The body is bare except for a single stranded necklace (*ekāvalī*), a distinguishing feature of Gupta figures. The lower part of his body is covered with a striped *dhotī*, shorter in front and longer at the back with a pleated end fluttering in the air on the left. It is secured to the waist with a twisted *kamarband*. In his right hand he holds a flower and the left is delicately posed on the looped waistband.

16. Donor (Fig. 5b). Only the bust is represented; the sharp features of his face. The *dupaṭṭā* covers the left shoulder. He holds two lotus stalks in the right hand and a long serrated leaf in the left.

There is no doubt that No. 16 is a Gupta type adopted from Gupta sculptures of Madhyadeśa. The donor figure holding a lotus flower appears in Gandhāran sculpture³⁸ but this type has nothing to do with the figure from Mirpurkhas, which has its parallels in certain figures from Ajanta, both sculptured and painted. For instance, in the façade of cave XIX the figure to the right of the window affects the same hairdress, the same costume and the same pose as the Mirpurkhas donor. That this pose of the donor had mostly become stylised in Gupta art is supported by the figure of an attendant in the seated figure of Buddha in a terracotta plaque from Ahichchhatra, in which while the principal figure shows Gandhāran influence in the treatment of drapery the attendant figure is almost a duplicate of the Mirpurkhas donor figure. It has the same type of hairdress, the same costume and almost the same pose of the hands.³⁹ The typical figures of Padmapāṇi and Maitreya in Ajanta paintings have the same pose as the Mirpurkhas donor. In Ajanta cave No. 1, the representation of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi⁴⁰ painted on the right of the main shrine and the representation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi have the same ornaments and costume and the pose of the hands as the Mirpurkhas donor figure.

GROUP IV—DANCERS, MUSICIANS AND MITHUNAS

17. Dancer (Fig. 5c). Against the background of acanthus leaves a woman is dancing vigorously; her right hand is in *patākā* pose and the left in *gajahasta* pose; an attendant stands by the side.⁴¹

18. Drummer (Fig. 6a). Acanthus leaves; seated female drummer with an attendant.

³⁸ Harald Ingholt, *loc. cit.* Figs. 411-414.

³⁹ V. S. Agravala, *Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra*, District Bareilly, U.P., *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. XLVIII, B.

⁴⁰ G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part I, pl. XXXI.

⁴¹ Harald Ingholt, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 346.

The motif of musicians and dancers in Gupta and post-Gupta period is so common that it hardly requires any examination. However, our panels are closely related with the figures of dancers and musicians represented at Deogarh.⁴²

19. Mithuna (Fig. 6b). Background of acanthus leaves; the pair engaged in love-play. It is a common Gupta motif from Madhyadeśa.

GROUP V—ANIMALS AND BIRDS

20-22. Elephant brackets. A large number of elephant brackets are included in the finds from Mirpurkhas. The common type has short ears, screwed neck and lowered down or recurved trunk (No. 20, Fig. 6c). In the second type (No. 21, Fig. 6d) the upraised trunk holds some object, and in the third type (No. 22, Fig. 7a) the temples are decorated with circles, a common feature of elephant decoration in the Kushāṇa period.⁴³

23. Lion (Fig. 7b). The figure of the lion is highly stylised. It has open goggly eyes, moustaches, open mouth showing the bare fangs and schematically treated manes and underside fur. The closest parallel to the lion may be seen in a lion head represented in the decorative motifs in the Bhumara temple.⁴⁴

24. A lion attacking a wild boar (Fig. 8a). The lion with upraised tail has attacked the boar. The boar on the other hand with lowered neck has buried its tusks in its adversary's belly.

25. Cobras in a forest (Fig. 8b). The jungle is represented by a tree and acanthus leaves. Round the tree a number of cobras are shown wriggling. Apparently the motif has been borrowed from the folk-belief that sandal-wood trees are the home of serpents.

26. A peacock and a peahen (Fig. 9a). Against the background of acanthus leaves the birds are represented in the act of mating. They are almost in the same attitude as represented in one of the decorative ivory plaques from Begram.⁴⁵

27-28. The geese, lotus and conch-shell (Fig. 9b). No. 27 represents a lotus plant with two flowers and buds, springing from a conchshell. A goose with floriated tail and wing perched on blossoms on either side appear to be holding a loop made of leaves in their beaks. No. 28 broken almost in half, represents the same motif. In this motif two of the *nidhis* namely the lotus (*padma*) and conchshell (*śaṅkha*) appear.

⁴² Vats, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXV (b) central panel; Zimmer, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 166.

⁴³ Hackin and others, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1954, Fig. 101, 108 etc. For comparison of these elephant brackets with similar motif in Begram ivories, see figs. 53, 57.

⁴⁴ R. D. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IX, a.

⁴⁵ Hackin, *loc. cit.*, fig. 53.

29. Lotus rhizome carried by Yakshas. (Figs. 10a, 10b). The lower loops with squatting Yakshas holding the stem of the rhizome with both hands alternating with the geese, holding garlands in their beaks perched on lotus leaves. The constituents of the pattern also appear at Bagh⁴⁶ and Sarnath.

This motif in which a garland is supported by Yakshas is supposed to have been derived from the 'Amorini and Garland' motif of the Roman art in the early centuries of the Christian era. While retaining some of its Roman characteristics in Gandhāra art, it was gradually Indianised in the art of Mathura and Amaravati. This view is, however, contested by Coomaraswamy who maintains an Indian origin for this motif connecting it with the lotus rhizome motif of Bharhut and Sanchi. M. Stern points out that the garland-bearer motif is a happy combination of Graeco-Roman motif and the lotus rhizome of earlier times.⁴⁷ It is, however, significant that in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 135), the Amorini with garlands are called *mālādhara-devāḥ*—the gods carrying garlands. They with others acted as protecting guardians of the city of the gods named Sudarśana.

In the Gupta period, however, the *mālādhara* or the Amorini and Garland motif undergoes a radical change. The smooth thick rope like garland gives place to an intricate lotus rhizome and the *mālādharas* stand straight at intervals extending their hands to support as it were the rhizome thick with supplementary vegetation. This development is well illustrated in the temple at Deogarh.⁴⁸ In one of the Bhumara bas-reliefs these sprightly creatures playfully hold the curving lotus stalks.⁴⁹

30. Geese with floriated tails (Fig. 10c) Part of a frieze; one goose with floriated tail and open beak following another which is pecking at its tail; the interspace in the foreground decorated with palmates.⁵⁰

GROUP VII—MASKS

31. Geese in combination with masks (Figs. 11a, 11b). Part of a frieze decorated with a series of stylised lion-heads with bare fangs emitting four jewelled strands which join with similar strands emitted by a mask. In the space formed by the looped strands stand stylized geese with floriated tails.

32. The same as No. 31 (Fig. 11c) except that in the looped spaces palmate pointing downwards are represented.

33. Horned masks (Fig. 12a). The frieze represents a series of oblong horned and bearded human heads placed against the background of acanthus leaves; on either side of these masks are depicted curled leaves in pairs.

⁴⁶ Marshall, *The Bagh Caves*, London, 1927, Pl. XVI.

⁴⁷ M. Stern and Beniste, *loc. cit.*, p. 28

⁴⁸ Vats, *loc. cit.*, Pl. CIII, (a)

⁴⁹ R. D. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, Pl. VII (a)

⁵⁰ Hackin, *loc. cit.*, Figs. 199, 206.

34. Mask (Fig. 12b). The mask is represented against a stylised floral background; round eyes, very broad nose and very thick lips.

35. Lion-head mask (Fig. 12c). Small head, lolling tongue, huge floriated moustaches; vertical lines and serrated leaves in the foreground.

36. Lion-head mask. Highly stylised with round eyes, heavy moustaches and bare fangs.

37. Horned lion (Fig. 13a). The horns spring from near the eyes.

The closest parallels in the mask heads Nos. 32 and 34 appear at Bhumara. One type, in the floral background with goggle eyes, dilated nose and thick lips⁵¹, is almost the same as No. 34. The lion-heads emitting pearl strands (No. 32) also bear close resemblance with the similar design at Bhumara,⁵² though here the formation of the lion-head is markedly a new element. I have not been able to find a parallel to the frieze of bearded mask in Gupta art. It, however, appears with slight variations in the ceiling of Sanctuary D at Bamiyan.⁵³

GROUP VIII—MOULDED AND CARVED BRICKS

38. Pilaster (Fig. 13b). Corinthian pilaster; the capital decorated with spiral on scalloped base.

39-41. Bricks decorated with acanthus leaves which perhaps formed the topmost course of the outer face of a wall (Fig. 13c). This pattern is almost the same as at Rangmahal⁵⁴ and Devnimori.

42. Acanthus and diaper (Fig. 13d). Representing one of the three-brick courses above the Indo-Corinthian pilasters.

43-45. Acanthus leaf moulding in the first course of the capital with the pine cone-shaped side ornament (Fig. 13e).

46. Part of the capital (Fig. 14a). In the upper course dentil-shaped ornament and rosettes; the lower course decorated with acanthus and cone-shaped ornament.

47. Part of the neck moulding of the capital.

48. Part of the capital. Deeply carved acanthus leaves with a pond.

49. Part of a *chaitya* arch; decorated with a meander and a row of recessed ornaments; boldly carved acanthus at the end.

⁵¹ R. D. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, Pls. V (b), IX(b), X(b), etc.; Vats, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XI (b), see the mask on the right hand column.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Pl., X (b).

⁵³ J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bâmiyân*, Pl. XIII, figs. 14-16.

⁵⁴ Hanna Rydh, *loc. cit.*, pl. 79, Figs. 1-2.

50. Closely packed acanthus leaves. A common motif in Gandhāra sculptures.⁵⁵ The same motif has been adopted in the door jambs from Bhumara and Devnimori.⁵⁶

51. Part of an arch. Acanthus with spiralling and dented column.⁵⁷

52. Arch with a rosette in the centre.

53. Latticed screen decorated with dentils.⁵⁸

54. Latticed screen decorated with dentils; the interspaces filled with rosettes (Fig. 14b).

55. Part of an arch. One of the side projections with a palmate and voluted end.

Besides the *membra disjecta* of the Stūpa at Mirpurkhas described above, there are pieces of decorative bricks used in friezes, arches and other decorative details.

56. Corner moulding (Fig. 14c). Palmates on stepped pyramids.

57. Chequers. Perhaps used in friezes or formed a decorative element in the construction of an arch.

58. T-shaped ornament surmounted with a stepped pedestal (Fig. 14d).

59. Deeply carved acanthus leaves. It is apparently a small part of the roundel of which a complete specimen has been found from Deonimori.

60. Floral meander (Fig. 14e). The background is formed of acanthus leaves on which is superimposed the meander with highly decorative leaves and curling twigs. At Bhumara almost the same pattern appears except that the acanthus leaves became more stylised and form a part of the design.⁵⁹

61. The design consists of a series of ringed acanthus leaf sheaves alternating with small stylised plants (Fig. 15a). Its exact parallel is not available in the Gupta art of Madhyadeśa, but the pattern appears in the Begram ivories with certain changes.⁶⁰

62. Part of a heavily decorated garland (Fig. 15b). The ornament consists of a flamboyant triangle, dentils, beadings and a half-rosette joined together with beaded bands.

63. Floral meander. Simple type with curved twigs.

⁵⁵ Harald Ingholt, *loc. cit.*, Figs. 18, 51 etc.

⁵⁶ *Indian Archaeology-A Review*, 1959-60, Pl. XXIV, A.

⁵⁷ *Ib.*

⁵⁸ Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Fig. 215.

⁵⁹ R. D. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, Pl. VII(c).

⁶⁰ Hackin, *loc. cit.*, Figs. 212, 214, and 232.

64. Floral meander (Fig. 15c). More elaborate type; meandering lotus stalk with curled leaves and twigs springing from the nodes. It is almost the same type appearing at Bhumara.⁶¹

65. Chequer with border (Fig. 15d). The border is decorated with a series of rosettes and lunates facing upwards and downwards.

66. Rosette frieze. The flowers are six-petalled.

67. Series of rosettes with calyx.

68. Lunates in compartment; X-shaped.

69. Diaper made of four-petalled flowers.

70. Diapered flowers.

71-77. Lotus flowers and acanthus leaf form common decorative motifs. At Mirpurkhas there are at least seven varieties of rosettes ranging from simple to more complex types. In simple types the grooved petals are either pointed (Nos. 71-72) or rounded (No. 73) and arranged round the navel. In another type the interspaces between the petals are filled with sepals (Nos. 74-75). In a more evolved type the centre is occupied by the pod and filaments (No. 76). In another variation of the same type the rim of the lotus medallion is beaded (No. 77).

78-83. The acanthus leaf is also treated in several ways. In one type it is represented by deeply channelled three leaves (Nos. 78-80) (Fig. 15e). In a second type the channelled and angular leaves are arranged on either side of a central stem (No. 81). In a third type an acanthus twig enclosed within the denticulated border is shown (No. 82), while in a fourth type the acanthus leaf is associated with a cone (No. 83) (Fig. 15f).

This detailed analysis of the various elements which constituted the art of Mirpurkhas should convince us that while it accepted certain elements from Gandhāra, the tradition which actuated it is definitely Indian in form and spirit. The sculpture of Mirpurkhas not only synthesises Gupta tradition from the North with the Gandhāran tradition of the West but also combines some elements from the distant Amaravati and Ajanta. We have pointed out earlier that this march of Gupta tradition to Western India might have been due to the forward policy of Chandragupta II. The remains of a Buddhist Stūpa whose decoration approximates so closely with the decoration at Mirpurkhas, Devnimori and the Brahmanical terracotta figures from Rang Mahal may be the vestiges of the same expansion. It is, however, difficult to establish a chronological relationship between these monuments. The haphazard excavations at Mirpurkhas have hardly left any chronological evidence, but the Stūpa at Devnimori situated in Sabarkantha District in northern Gujarat has

⁶¹ R. D. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, Pl. VIII c.

been excavated scientifically and although certain conclusions drawn by the excavators from the material may be contested, there is no doubt about the closest similarity between the Mirpurkhas and Devnimori Stūpas.

The recent discovery of an inscribed relic casket from the Devnimori Stūpa gives interesting information about its date. The first part of the inscription mentions that the Mahā Stūpa was built near the Mahāvihāra during the reign of the king Rudrasimha in the year 127 of the Kaṭhika dynasty. The builders were two Buddhist monks. Rudrasimha, however, could not be the Western Kshatrapa king Rudrasimha I who flourished between 200-220 A.D. According to the inscription the Mahā Stūpa was built in 205 and repaired during the end of the third century. Whether there were any further repairs, it is not said but at least the terracotta decoration points to late 4th or early 5th century as the probable date of restoration.⁶²

The massive Stūpa at Devnimori had two platforms on which rose the cupola. The top of the lower platform served as a *pradakṣhiṇāpatha*; each face of the platform had eleven bays divided by Corinthian pilasters above which ran a frieze made up of three rows of bricks decorated with diaper, floral patterns and dentils. The upper platform had ten pilasters on each face. From the available fragments of arches the façade of the Stūpa was decorated with Buddha images placed in each alternate bay. The central bay of the faces of the platform contained beautiful arches, the decoration having the *pūrṇa-kumbha* motif superimposed lotus petals, four-petalled flowers, acanthus leaves etc.

Of the seventeen images of the Buddha found from Devnimori all are in *dhyānamudrā*. Fourteen of them according to the excavators belong to the fourth group of Harald Ingholt's classification of Gandhāra sculpture⁶³, characterised by paired parallel lines⁶⁴ and dated by him between 400 to 460 A.D. A notable feature of the Devnimori Buddhas is the absence of the *sanghāṭī* folds over the feet which in all cases are left bare. In some examples both the shoulders are covered while in other the right shoulder left uncovered. In the majority *ushnisha* appears and the spiralled hair curls turn to the right while in one example it is arranged in schematic folds typically Gandhāran in arrangement.

It is, however, significant that while decorative elements at Mirpurkhas and Devnimori are almost the same, the figures of the Buddha at both places show a divergence in treatment which could not be accidental. There is no doubt that the Buddha figures from Devnimori show a much more pronounced Gandhāran features both in the treatment of the drapery and human face than the Buddha figures from Mirpurkhas. As has already pointed out,

⁶² *Journal of Oriental Institute*, M. S. University, Baroda, XII, Dec. 1963 (No. 2), pp. 172 ff.

⁶³ Harald Ingholt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

⁶⁴ *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1959-60, Pl. XXIII A.

the haloed face of the Mirpurkhas Buddhas is more or less Indianised. The drapery as well is treated differently; the folds on *sanghāṭī* are much less pronounced and in many cases they are hardly visible; one end is neatly arranged in a fan-shaped fold on the lotus seat and the tight folds of the under garment are shown a little above the feet. However, in keeping with their prototype from Devnimori, the seated Mirpurkhas Buddhas have invariably their hands folded in *dhyānamudrā*.

THREE NEW DOCUMENTS OF INDIAN PAINTING

Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra

THE MAHĀPURĀṆA MS. DATED 1540 A.D.

FIGS. 16-18b.

I

The development of miniature painting as far as the Western Indian or Gujarati school is concerned is well known. But herein we are dealing with a Digambara Jain manuscript of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. The story of the *Mahāpurāṇa* has been dealt with at length by Moti Chandra in *Lalit Kalā* No. 5, p. 68. The subject of that article was also a Digambara manuscript which was ascribed by the author to the closing years of 15th century or a little later. Neither the date nor the place where that manuscript was painted are known but Moti Chandra suggested that perhaps it was painted in Uttar Pradesh and that may be the truth.

In the present manuscript, however, there is fortunately a colophon which gives not only the date but also the place where it was painted. This manuscript and some of its stylistic features has been discussed in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 4, as the "Digambara MS." in an article by Khandalavala entitled "A Gīta Govinda Series in the Prince of Wales Museum". One of its folios was also reproduced in colour by Moti Chandra in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. The translation of the relevant portion of one of the colophon pages is given below :—

(This work was written) on Tuesday, the 13th day of second fortnight of the month of Phālgun in Vikram Samvat 1597. It was the time when the great fort of Joginīpura (Delhi) situated in Kuru was under rule of Bādshāh Sultān Shāh Ālam, at the sacred place called Pālamva (modern Palam)....
.....(then follows the genealogy of the teachers.....) one Dharmadās,
(.....then follows the genealogy of Chaudharī Rāimalsen) who got the Mahāpurāṇa Ādikhaṇḍa consisting of eight thousand ślokas to be written for the destruction of his karmas. Rāimal also got it illustrated. This was done by Kāyastha Harinātha, with his family. Written by the Brahman Vishṇudāsa.

The manuscript in its present condition consists of 344 folios some of which are missing. The material is paper, the size of each folio being 28 × 12 cms. The script is Devanāgarī and the language is Apabhramśa. There are 13 lines to each page.

Pushpadanta, the author of the *Mahāpurāṇa* wrote it in the 10th century. The colophon shows that the artists of the miniatures were a Kāyastha painter of the Delhi school and his family. This is significant because another manu-

script, viz., the *Vanaparva* dated 1516 A.D., (the colophon of which we published in *Lalit Kalā* No. 10, page 54) containing numerous miniatures somewhat similar to those of the present manuscript was also painted by a Kāyastha artist in the Agra area. It is also significant to note that according to tradition, painting was being done professionally by the Kāyasthas of eastern U.P. Iswari Prasad, a modern hereditary painter from Bihar, was a Kāyastha. This tradition of the Kāyasthas being painters has continued into recent times.

Our manuscript is at present in the Śrī Digambar Jain Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur. This manuscript in conjunction with the somewhat similar manuscript dated 1516 A.D. affords evidence of a pre-Mughal style of painting in the first half of the 16th century in Northern India in which certain influences of the Western Indian or Gujarati school can clearly be discerned but which at the same time is not a mere variation of the Western Indian or Gujarati school. There is another influence to be seen in these two manuscripts which appears to be derived from a certain class of painting most probably belonging to the late 15th century, namely a form of bourgeois painting dealing with historical and literary compositions such as the *Sikandar Nāma* (of which certain folios are now in the Ahmedabad Museum, N. C. Mehta Collection, and others of which are illustrated herein as Figs. 25 a,b; 26 a,b); the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* (Figs. 27 a,b; 28 a,b); the *Shāh Nāma* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras (*Ars Orientalis* Vol. IV, p. 368, Figs. 37-39) and the *Khamṣa* of Amīr Khusrau¹ in various collections. The problems concerning this style of bourgeois painting to which the term 'Sultanate' has been applied are rather complex and will be dealt with in a forthcoming publication of this Museum by the present authors where differing viewpoints will be dealt with.

There are certain characteristics of our *Mahāpurāṇa* which deserve notice:

(1) The stylisation of the Western Indian or Gujarati school has been modified and the farther projecting eye has been completely eliminated.

(2) Whereas the costumes in the Western Indian or Gujarati manuscripts followed one traditional unchanging pattern and did not keep pace with the change of fashions over four centuries, the artists of this *Mahāpurāṇa* obviously adopted various male and female costumes to be seen in the first half of the 16th century in the Delhi-Agra area and which must have been in common use during the rule of the Lodī Sultāns. We are of opinion that the *kulahdār* turban was introduced into India by an Afghan dynasty and it is now certain it was commonly in use during Lodī rule, as seen in the *Vanaparva* of 1516 A.D.; though it slowly went out of fashion in the Mughal period. There is no evidence for supposing that this type of turban was worn in Mewar or any part of Rajasthan, and there is an absence of tradition amongst the Rajputs of such a turban being worn by any Rajput clan. Thus Barrett's theory² that the *Chaurapañchāśikā* might belong to Mewar does not seem tenable while Khandala-

¹ R. Ettinghausen, *The Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India*, New Delhi, 1961, Pl. 1.

² Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, 1963, pp. 66-68

vala's earlier suggestion (*Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 4) that the Prince of Wales Museum's *Gita Govinda* might have been painted in Rajasthan was discarded by him when he came to the conclusion that the *kulahdār* turban had never been known to be used in Rajasthan. So also Archer's ascription of this *Gita Govinda* to Mewar (*Indian Miniatures*, 1960, Pl. 37) cannot be countenanced on the evidence available at present.

(3) The female costume consisting of *sārī* (*sha'vār* in the case of dancers), *choli* and *odhni* also seems to have been taken from the prevailing fashions including the wearing of the *odhni* as a broad band diagonally across the breasts. The convention of the *odhni* ballooning out behind the head, a very characteristic feature of our manuscript, is derived from several other early Western Indian or Gujarati manuscript paintings.

(4) The faces of the women, in particular, are more naturalistic than those seen in the Western Indian or Gujarati miniatures. Despite the stylisation of the face and the exaggerated *padol*-shaped eye there is an undeniable charm in the expressions of all the women in our manuscript. They have almost doll-like countenances which are far removed from the intense and angular faces of the women in the Western Indian or Gujarati manuscript illustrations or those of the *Ghaurapañchāśikā* group.

(5) Most of the miniatures follow the Western Indian or Gujarati convention of a bright red background but this is not invariably the case and backgrounds of other colours such as green and pink also make their appearance.

(6) One of the most remarkable innovations of our manuscript is the feeling for landscape and also for genre scenes. The landscape scenes depict forests with animals, rivers and oceans infested with marine creatures, rocky mountains, stylised trees, palms and open fields. One also finds such commonplace events as village cattle fighting and everyday scenes such as cows being milked and fields being ploughed. There are also many miniatures depicting processions, armies on the march, battle scenes, court scenes, groups of dancers and toilet scenes, etc. Thus the range of our *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrations is far in excess of the limited subject-matter of the Western Indian or Gujarati paintings where the themes are mostly hieratic in character. There was, however, a departure from the usual formulae even in Gujarat during the second half of the 15th century and one finds new experiments in the *Vasanta Vilāsa* dated 1451³ and in the late 15th century *Bālagopālāstuti*,⁴ where Chinese foliated clouds, borrowed from Persian painting begin to make their appearance.

(7) The illustrations in our *Mahāpurāṇa* usually cover the entire folio and thus the artist has a much greater scope for developing a compositional scene than in the rather small format mostly employed by the painters of the

³ Norman Brown, *Vasanta Vilāsa*, 1962.

⁴ *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, Pls. CXIII, CX, CXI.

Western Indian or Gujarati manuscripts. It is this opportunity to utilise more space that has perhaps contributed considerably to the appeal of several compositions though a criticism may be levelled against the manuscript as a whole that it is repetitive both in types and in compositions and is on the whole very stylised. Nevertheless, some of the compositions possess a naive charm which entitles them to be considered as possessing some aesthetic merit apart from the quaintness which even most of the illustrations of the Western Indian or Gujarati school possess. This is certainly not a court art nor is it exactly a folk art. It is perhaps best described as a bourgeois art produced for those middle class folks, such as the Chaudharis of the colophon, who desired to possess illustrated manuscripts of a religious or secular character.

(8) There is also a departure from Western Indian or Gujarati miniatures as far as the colour tonality is concerned. Though the usual red background is largely employed, the variety of colours — blue, green, yellow, brown etc. which are used for costume details, accessories and in the landscape give a varied richness to the compositions. This tonality is a change from the predominance of red and gold and blue and gold in the Western Indian or Gujarati manuscripts. No gold is used in our *Mahāpurāṇa*.

(9) A further advance on Western Indian or Gujarati miniature painting is seen in a more realistic approach in so far as scenes are taken from the daily life which the painters saw around them. These realistic details are woven into the purely hieratic theme of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. This attitude indicates that a new outlook has come into Indian miniature painting.

(10) Though the manuscript is profusely illustrated and a variety of *jāmas* both short and long are depicted as being in fashion, there is not a single instance in which the *chākdār jāma* (i.e. four pointed or six pointed) makes its appearance. Khandalavala thinks that when so many styles of *jāmas* are extensively illustrated and the *kulāhdār* turban is freely seen then the absence of the *chākdār jāma* in over 300 illustrations suggests it was not in use at the old Lodī capital of Delhi in 1540 when Sher Shāh came to the throne after the flight of Humayūn. Since the *chākdār jāma* is also absent in a definitely dated Lodī period manuscript namely the *Vanaparva* of 1516 A.D. which is also extensively illustrated, Khandalavala feels that the problem of the *chākdār jāma* is of great importance and may even prove conclusive in deciding the period of miniatures such as those of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. The *chākdār jāma* is also not seen in the *Sikandar Nāma* nor in the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma*, both of which may well belong to the late 15th century. The problem to be faced according to Khandalavala is whether or not the *chākdār jāma* was an innovation of Akbar's reign being borrowed from some outside source. If it was an innovation of his reign then the *Chaurapañchāśikā* type group, where it appears, cannot be earlier than 1560-1570 A.D. To some extent our *Mahāpurāṇa* is a development and variation of the Western Indian or Gujarati style in Northern India in the 16th century, but the abandonment of the farther projecting eye, the adoption of contemporary costumes and the greater freedom seen in composition and

colouring appear to have been derived from the historical or literary bourgeois type manuscripts of the late 15th century to which we have already referred. The style of our *Mahāpurāṇa* is older than 1540 A.D. because we have found a somewhat similar style in the *Vanaparva* of 1516 A.D. What may have happened was that early in the 16th century the Western Indian or Gujarati style, at least in Northern India, began to give up several of the mannerisms of that style under the influence of the bourgeois painting of the late 15th century, which bourgeois painting itself was rather crude but had adopted some Persian influences and blended them with the Western Indian or Gujarati style. (Figs. 25 a, b; 26 a, b; 27 a, b; and 28 a, b herein).

The *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540 A.D. was first brought to light by Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, State of Maharashtra, and it was through his kindness and that of Srimati Sumati Behn of Sholapur who had photos of most of its folios that it came to our notice. They also used their good offices for bringing a large part of the original Ms. including the colophon, to the Prince of Wales Museum for our study and publication. All scholars of Indian painting owe a debt to Dr. Joshi for recognizing the importance of this Ms., because this Ms. together with the *Vanaparva* Ms. of 1516 A.D. discovered by Miss Durga Bhagwat (*Lalit Kalā*, No. 10) are the only securely dated examples known of pre-Akbari painting of the 16th century. We understand that the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* another important document was discovered by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen.

A MS. OF THE LAUR CHANDĀ IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

COLOUR PLATE (frontispiece) AND FIGS. 19-24

II

In the year 1956 it was brought to the notice of the Director by Shri Z. A. Desai, now Asstt. Superintendent, Muslim Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur that a series of paintings of an unknown manuscript were available in a collection at Bhopal. The manuscript was thereafter acquired by the Trustees of the Museum as it was realized on photos shown to us that it was of high importance. At first, it was not known what was the subject-matter of the manuscript but very soon it was apparent that the paintings were illustrations to a manuscript of *Laur Chandā*. The *Laur Chandā* has been referred to by Al-Badāonī in his *Muntakhāb Al-Tawārīkh* (see our article in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, p. 45).

This romance has for long been popular in the Uttar Pradesh and before Jāyasi's *Padmāvat* it was the only Avadhī romance which was read both by Hindus and Muslims alike. Shri P. Gupta has set out the story of *Laur Chandā*

in our article in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, page 45, "A New Document of Indian Painting." Only four illustrated manuscripts of the *Laur Chandā* romance are known to date, viz., (1) six folios in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, published in *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, p. 66 by Rai Krishnadasa, (2) twenty-four folios which were all originally in the Lahore Museum and are now distributed between the Lahore Museum and the Panjab Government Museum and examples of which were published by Khandalavala in *Marg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, "Leaves from Rajasthan", Fig. 13, and by Basil Gray in the *Art of India and Pakistan* being the commemorative Catalogue of the Royal Academy Exhibition, frontispiece in colour, (3) an extensive manuscript from the Ryland's Library, Manchester discovered by Gupta and published by us in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, p. 45 and one illustration of which also appears in *Painting of India* by Barrett and Gray on page 69, (4) 68 folios in the Prince of Wales Museum (64 of the *Laur Chandā* and 4 of the *Maināsāt*) which have never been published although one leaf which apparently once formed part of this manuscript is illustrated in Archer's *Indian Miniatures*, 1960, Pl. 12. The manuscript is not complete. Apart from the group of 68 in the Prince of Wales Museum there are folios in the National Museum, New Delhi, and several folios with Mr. Boman Behram, a Bombay collector, while a few folios are in American collections. The finest examples of this set are all, however, with the Prince of Wales Museum and an adequate study of this manuscript can only be undertaken from this group of 68 miniatures. The manuscript is of the highest importance for two reasons: (1) Even though the date is controversial and we ourselves are not in agreement on the question of the date yet we are agreed that it represents a pre-Mughal type of painting in Northern India, however scant, even if actually done during the Mughal period. Moti Chandra places this manuscript to the period c. 1525 A.D. while Khandalavala, as stated in our article in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, p. 45, would also place this manuscript in the period 1525-1550 A.D. were it not for the presence of the *chākdār jāma* which problem he feels must be solved before one can be definite about the date of this Ms. or of any pre-Mughal type Ms. of the 16th century where the *chākdār jāma* appears. Therefore, according to Khandalavala, he would keep the matter of the date open because he believes that any date between 1515 and 1570 A.D. is possible for the manuscript. Both Moti Chandra and Khandalavala feel that evidence may be forthcoming that the *chākdār jāma* was a Lodī costume just as there is now definite evidence that the *kulāhdār* turban was commonly in use in Lodī times; but whereas the *kulāhdār* turban appears repeatedly in the *Vanaparva* of 1516 A.D., the *chākdār jāma* is totally absent in that manuscript though several types of *jāmas* are depicted therein. So also in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540 A.D., the *Sikandar Nāma* of the late 15th century, the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* also of 15th century, various types of *jāmas* including the short *jāma* upto the knees (Figs. 27 a, b; 28 a, b) are shown, but the *chākdār jāma* is conspicuous by its absence. When we use the word *chākdār* we are not referring to the *jāma* which sometimes appears with two ends slightly longer than the middle, but to the *jāma* with four or six distinct cuts which is constantly seen in early Akbarī painting. When a manuscript bearing a pre-Mughal period date is discovered

in which the *chākdār jāma* appears, then we would have concrete evidence which Khandalavala feels is essential for a satisfactory solution of the problem. Till then Khandalavala prefers not to keep the question open and not to speculate. On that basis he allows a margin for error, viz., 1515 to 1570 A.D. On the other hand, Moti Chandra feels it is safe to assume, even in the absence of evidence, that the *chākdār jāma* like the *kulāhdār* turban belongs to the pre-Mughal period, whether in use under the Lodīs or not, and that it was adopted by Akbar at the Mughal court and remained in fashion for a considerable time there though the *kulāhdār* turban went out of fashion very early at Akbar's court. Moti Chandra thinks that the *chākdār jāma* may also have been worn by the Lodīs even though it does not appear in the *Vanaparva* of 1516 A.D. or the *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540 or the late 15th century manuscripts of *Sikandar Nāma* and *Hamza Nāma*.

(2) The second reason why this manuscript is of high importance is that it is the only known manuscript of the pre-Mughal type which can be regarded as the product of a court atelier or the atelier of a court grandee. The Ryland's Library manuscript (*Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, p. 45) may also be the product of a court atelier as it is somewhat similar to the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur Chandā* series though not of the same high quality. The *Nīmat Nāma* which may well belong to the early 16th century was also painted at a Sultanate court, namely Mandu, but that is a manuscript in which the influence of the Shiraz or so-called Turkman School of Persia completely dominates the Indian element. The remaining manuscripts of the pre-Mughal type known to us such as the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrau published in the Lalit Kalā Akademi's brochure "Painting of the Sultans and Emperors" Plate No. 1; the *Sikandar Nāma* dealt with herein (Figs. 25a, b; 26a, b); the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* (Figs. 27a, b; 28a, b) and the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan's *Shāh Nāma* are all in the nature of a bourgeois art.

Another group which may be pre-Mughal (depending according to Khandalavala on the solution of the problem of the *chākdār jāma*) viz. the *Chaurapañchāśikā* of the Ahmedabad Museum (formerly in N.C. Mehta Collection); the *Mṛigāvat* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan; the *Gīta Govinda* of the Prince of Wales Museum; the *Rāgamālā* of Muni Vijayendra Suri (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 16) and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which is distributed among many collections, belongs, however, to a different tradition from manuscripts such as the Prince of Wales Museum's *Laur Chandā* or the bourgeois type of production seen in the *Sikandar Nāma*, Tübingen *Hamza Nāma*, etc. Many Persian elements are discernible in the Prince of Wales Museum's *Laur Chandā*, but despite this fact, it is clearly a manuscript in which there are also marked Indian influences. Thus it represents an individual style which prevailed probably at some court in Northern India even though this style may not have been widespread. The Persian influence is very marked in the tile patterns; the Chinese type foliated clouds frequently interspersed with rosettes so characteristic of Persian painting in the late 15th century and the first half

of the 16th century; exquisitely drawn arabesques which sometimes cover the whole composition; tree forms which fan out into three or four branches all springing from the top of the tree trunk and backgrounds closely covered with tufts of grass or tiny strokes of colour to form a pattern. But the compositional features are not derived from Persian art and a very common feature of the manuscript is the division of the picture space into two panels though at times there are more than two while there are also miniatures covering the whole picture space without any panel-wise division. Both the male and female types are also definitely Indian in character. The male figures are commonly garbed in *shalwārs*, transparent *jāmas* and *kulahdār* turbans. The facial types of the women show the ancestry of Western Indian or Gujarati painting but the farther projecting eye is absent while there is also some change in the facial appearance as the large staring eyes are considerably modified. The women wear a *shalwār*, a short *choli* and a long transparent *odhni* which fans out stiffly from their bodies. Another early convention is seen in the manner in which seated figures are shown with the body resting on the farther end of the cushion. Although there is considerable repetition in the miniatures and though on the whole the treatment is rather static, nevertheless, the mastery with which the decorative material and colour tonality is handled gives this series a richness and a quality which is not to be found in any other pre-Mughal style of painting. We regard it as the finest example of the pre-Mughal type whether it was actually painted in the pre-Mughal period or during the early Mughal period.

The architecture seems to be derived from the low domes of the Lodi monuments and the appearance of triple domes certainly suggests the influence of pre-Mughal monuments. This influence would be compatible with the pre-Akbar or early Akbar period.

One interesting feature to note is that the cattle frequently bear a circular branding mark on the quarters.

The colour schemes employed in our *Laur Chandā* manuscript are altogether different from the conventional predominance of red and blue and gold in Western Indian or Gujarati manuscript painting. The colour schemes are also quite different from the strong warm colouring of sets like *Ghaurapañchāīkā*, Lahore Museum's *Laur Chandā*, etc. Here we have an entirely different tonality in which pinks, yellows, greens, pale blues, etc. are pleasantly blended together. The colour scheme is never hot but at the same time the palette is never insipid. Moreover, the tonality is always clean and clear and there is no trace of heaviness or muddiness. Gold is used with great delicacy and to much effect particularly in decorative details and in the exquisite arabesque patterns which cover backgrounds, costumes, domes, cushions, utensils, architecture, carpets, etc. The painters of this manuscript seem to have delighted in painting arabesque patterns with surpassing skill on many parts of the picture space but this is achieved with such finesse of brush-work that it never becomes tiresome or obtrusive. The subject-matter of the paintings is related to the various

episodes and incidents in the *Laur Chandā* and *Maināsāt* stories and the production was obviously for some ruler or grandee who was fond of the *Laur Chandā* romance and desired to possess a beautiful illustrated copy.

The text which appears on the reverse of the miniatures displays calligraphy of a high order. The painters of our *Laur Chandā* were competent Indian artists familiar with Ms. such as the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of 1465 A.D. of late 15th and early 16th century Persian Ms. illustrations and had experimented with the fusion of Indian and Persian elements thus creating a style of their own, which was probably not widespread. If it should be pre-Mughal it represents the most refined achievement of pre-Mughal painting. It is a delicacy which neither the Manchester *Laur Chandā* nor the *Ni'mat Nāma* possess. The *Bostān* of the National Museum is regarded by Khandalavala as painted in Persia or in any event the work vesting Persian artist in India either by Indian influence and hence falls out of consideration.

Even if we assume we are dealing with a pre-Mughal manuscript the sum total of what can be regarded as court production in the pre-Mughal period is our *Laur Chandā*, the Ryland's *Laur Chandā* and the *Ni'mat Nāma*, the last named being highly Persianized. Thus on the basis of concrete finds we are still lacking evidence of any great or extensive court ateliers under the Sultāns, such as came into being with the accession of Akbar.

A MS. OF THE SIKANDAR NĀMA

FIGS. 25a—26b

III

A few years back an illustrated manuscript of the *Sikandar Nāma* containing 29 illustrations was brought to the Museum for our opinion. Unfortunately, the manuscript could not be acquired and its whereabouts is now a mystery⁵ but we were fortunate enough in photographing it. The *Sikandar Nāma* forms a part of the *Khamṣa* of Nidhāmī and describes the adventures of Alexander the Great over land and sea. The miniatures are of a somewhat crude bourgeois type which we have already referred to in which Persian influences are mixed with the Western Indian or Gujarati style and Persianized and Indian types appear side by side. The Persianized types appear to be derived from the Mongol and Timurid periods but the costumes worn by these types though derived from Persia may have been the fashion at Sultanate courts in the 15th century A.D. and not merely copied from Persian 14th and 15th century miniatures, though these certainly seem to have influenced the facial types common in the *Sikandar Nāma* (Figs. 25 a, b; 26 a, b) and in the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* (Figs. 27 a, b; 28 a, b). These types were already repeatedly seen

⁵ The removal of this manuscript from this country would be a very serious matter.

in the Sāhis of the *Kālakāchārya* manuscripts both early and late. The figures are mostly wooden and stereotyped with occasional exceptions.

In the representation of women the types seem to be largely derived from Persian paintings.

Besides the Persian type of male figures there also appear male figures in the Western Indian or Gujarati style, with the characteristic farther protruding eye.

There is little doubt that the physical types represented in the *Sikandar Nāma* are based on Persian and Indian types as seen in Persian and Indian book illustrations. Sometimes the antecedents of the Persianized figures are clearly traceable in Persian art and sometimes not. The reason is apparent. In the Indian version the Persian elements are often Indianised to a certain extent so that though their Persian origin is clear, their identity with exact Persian prototypes naturally cannot be traced.

The typical male costume consists of a heart-shaped turban, *aba* or tunic reaching to the feet, *qaba* with a triangular opening at the neck, shirt (*kamīz*), trousers and shoes. The tunics and *qabas* are usually tight and full-sleeved, but loose-sleeved and half-sleeved tunics and *qabas* exposing the shirt sleeves are also worn. The tunics and *qabas* have straight and angular ends. The folds of the heart-shaped turbans are indicated by vertical and horizontal lines. In the turban tied with a *pechī* one end is allowed to hang freely behind the back a feature so common in early Persian miniatures. Alexander is shown wearing a crown decorated with a tiara.

The dress of the Hindus consists of a turban, a *chādar* worn across the chest and *dhoti* or shorts. The Hindu turbans are of two types — the flat Hindu type and the peaked Muslim type. Often the Hindus appear without headgear.

The women also wear two types of costume — Indian and Persian. The Indian princess is shown wearing a tiara, a *chādar* put round the neck, a full-sleeved *choli*, and a checkered *sāri* over which is tied an overgarment. A notable feature of the ornaments is the use of pompons. The Persian female types are shown wearing a long tunic with tight-fitting sleeves and a white veil covering the head and falling over the head. In another type, the sleeves of the tunic are loose and a shirt is worn underneath.

The landscape is reduced to a minimum. The rivers are depicted by the basket pattern motif which is associated with fish. Mountains are represented by a series of broad leaf-shaped boulders with voluted tips somewhat similar to those seen in Jain manuscripts. The background is plain red with no attempt at perspective. The colours are simple-black, white, red, blue, green, pink and brown; gold is absent. Several features of Western Indian or Gujarati painting are to be seen. Owing to the paucity of paintings of the Sultanate period it is difficult to draw parallels but one thing is certain that the *Sikandar Nāma* miniatures are outside the *kulahdār* group and no *kulahdār*

trellised turban appears anywhere. The Western Indian or Gujarati tradition in the form of the angularity of drawing and the protrusion of the farther eye still persists and there are also certain similarities with the illustrations of the *Mahāpurāṇa* in the Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi⁶ and the *Laur Chandā* illustrations in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.⁷

With regard to the date and provenance of the *Sikandar Nāma*, in the absence of any colophon or dated material of this type, it is not easy to solve the problems that confront us. We may not be far from the truth in thinking that the *Sikandar Nāma* was painted in one of the northern Sultanates in the late 15th century for a bourgeois client. If so, then the *Laur Chandā* of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (*Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, p. 67) would also be earlier than 1540 which is the date suggested for it by Rai Krishnadasa. However, these problems are intricate in the absence of sufficient evidence and we do not lay any claim to infallibility for our opinions.

The *Sikandar Nāma*, like the Tübingen *Hamza Nāma* is a document of greater historical than aesthetic importance. The colours are mostly basic, and the backgrounds are invariably brick red. There is no attempt at perspective and the action takes place on the same plane. The composition is extremely simple with only a few figures who, however, tell their story recognisably. These bourgeois type paintings were done in a period when indigenous painters were fusing certain Persian motifs which they had seen with the indigenous tradition.

The *Sikandar Nāma* illustrations seem to have been disbursed, as four folios are to be found in the N. C. Mehta collection, one of which has been reproduced in *The Art of India and Pakistan*⁸ and can be identified as "Sikandar in a Garden".

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

1 A girl of Chinese extraction from India. Arched Pavilion. The girl is seated in Persian fashion. She has round face with recurved eye brows, joined eyes, double chin, mole on the left cheek, closely placed pointed breasts, pin-point waist and carefully drawn hand. She wears a *chādar*, *choli* and chequered *sārī*; *pān* in right hand. Behind her stands a maid wearing trousers and a tunic; her hair being covered with a veil. On the right Alexander in shirt and half-sleeved *qaba* with a courtier. (Fig. 25 a).

2 The Water of Life. In the centre a water reservoir, the water depicted in basket pattern with two trees; on the right Alexander equipped with bow

⁶ Moti Chandra, "An illustrated Ms. of Mahāpurāṇa in the collection of Sri Digambara Nayā Mandir, Delhi"; *Lalit Kalā*, No. 5 (April 1959) pp. 68-82, Pl. D. Figs. 1-8.

⁷ Rai Krishnadasa, "An Illustrated Ms. of Laur Chandā in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras," *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 1-2 (April 1955-March 1956) pp. 66-71; Pl. E. Figs. 1-4.

⁸ *The Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl. 80. Fig. 871.

and a sword riding a white dotted horse; on the left a man treated in Western Indian fashion perhaps representing Khwāja Khizr wearing a turban and *pāijāma* and carrying a staff. (Fig. 25b).

3 Domed and arched pavilion; compartment on the right; the king on the throne conversing with a philosopher seated in Persian fashion facing to the left counting his rosary; a *rehl* lies before him. (Fig. 26a).

4 Mourning for the dead (*syāpa*). Four women dressed in black tunics and trousers, their hair hanging loose are beating their cheeks and breasts. The central figure with white hair is supposed to be Alexandar's mother. (Fig. 26b).

A NOTE ON SOME CULTURAL REFERENCES IN ŚRĪVARA PAṆḌITA'S RĀJATARANĠINĪ

Moti Chandra and V. S. Agrawala

It was in 1896 that Pandit Durga Prasad edited the several histories of Kashmir under the general name of *Rājataranḡinī* in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. In Vols. I and II was printed the Sanskrit text of *Rājataranḡinī*, a well-known historical work by Kalhaṇa which was also edited and translated by Sir Aurel Stein. In Vol. III, Pandit Durga Prasad brought together three other Kashmir chronicles, also known as *Rājataranḡinīs*, the first (in serial order) being by Jonarāja (pages 1-116), the second by Śrīvara (pages 117-319) and the third by Prājyabhaṭṭa (pages 323-406). These three texts have almost remained unnoticed although they present rich documentation for the cultural history of Kashmir. This *Rājataranḡinī* by Śrīvara, particularly, is a mine of information about the cultural institutions flourishing under Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn (1420-1470 A.D.) the celebrated Sultān of Kashmir who was a great patron of art and literature.

In Śrīvara's text which deserves to be thoroughly sifted for its vocabulary and cultural material, the spirit and style are very much similar to the Persian chronicles of those days which made it a point to incorporate as much cultural and historical material as possible, collected from the facts of life. The Sanskrit language of Śrīvara has also absorbed a large number of freely adapted Persian technical terms current in the court and administration. These require to be carefully studied and identified.

The purpose of this note is to draw special attention to chapter VI of Śrīvara's *Rājataranḡinī* which gives a description of the various presents (*upadā* or *upāyana*) sent to the court of Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn by his contemporaries.

The Canto consists of the following 32 *ślokas* :—

ततः क्रमसरस्तुल्यं राजा पद्मपुरान्तरे ।
तत्कौतुकापनोदाय चक्रे जैनसरो नवम् ॥१॥
फुल्लकुङ्कुमपुष्पौषध्यामीभूतस्थलच्छलात् ।
शरदीवागता श्रीत्या यमुना यत्सरोवरम् ॥२॥
कुलोद्धरणनागाख्यमण्डिते यत्तटे नवम् ।
राजद्राजगृहं राजा राजराजोपमो व्यधात् ॥३॥
उच्चैःपदस्थममलं रुचिरञ्जिताशं
संपूर्णमण्डनमल्लण्डकलाकलापम् ।
राजानमीशमवलोक्य हतोभतापम्
काङ्क्षन्ति के न नितरामपि दूरसंस्थाः ॥४॥

दिगन्तरीया भूपालाः श्रुत्वैतद्गुणगौरवम् ।
 नानोपायनवर्षावैर्वर्षानितराममुम् ॥१५॥
 वेगेन जितवार्युं स्वं ताजिकाख्यं तुरंगमम् ।
 उपद्रां व्यसृजत् सख्यादुच्चैः पञ्चनदप्रभुः ॥१६॥
 किनरोऽश्वमुखः स्यात् कण्ठाश्रित्यं न वेत्यसौ ।
 इतीव नाट्यं यो दर्पाद्विराडोऽकरोत् पथि ॥१७॥
 प्रवालहस्तः सद्रस्मिः सुखलीनः सुलक्षणः ।
 यथासावहमित्यं यो नासहिष्ठास्यताडनम् ॥१८॥
 पादैश्चतुभिः शुभ्रो यो मुखमध्येन चावहत् ।
 कल्याणपञ्चकख्याति कल्याणाभरणोज्ज्वलः ॥१९॥
 माण्डव्यगौडभूमीशः खलुच्यो यो महीपतिः ।
 अतुतुपहरन्दामनामवस्त्रैरुपाहितैः ॥२०॥
 इतो ह्यस्मै नृपो भव्यं काव्यं कृत्वा स्वभाषया ।
 प्राहिणोद्द्रव्यसंयुक्तं सव्यसाध्यप्रजोपमः ॥२१॥
 सोप्यनर्घः पदार्थेन तथा तुष्टो महीपतेः ।
 सार्लकारैर्यथा भूपकाव्यस्यातिमनोहरैः ॥२२॥
 वस्त्रं नारीकुञ्जराख्यं कुभराजो विसर्जयन् ।
 अहरद्विदि तच्छ्रेयनारीकुञ्जरकौतुकम् ॥२३॥
 राजा हुंगरसेहाख्यो गोपालपुरवल्लभः ।
 गीततालकलावाद्यनाट्यलक्षणलक्षितम् ॥२४॥
 संगीतबुडामण्याख्यं श्रीसंगीतशिरोमणिम् ।
 राज्ञे गीतविनोदार्थं गीतग्रन्थं व्यसर्जयत् ॥२५॥
 तस्मिन् राज्ञि दिवं याते कीर्तिसिन्धौ महीपतिः ।
 तत्पुत्रे पितृवत्प्रीतिमरक्षत् प्रहितोपदः ॥२६॥
 मण्डलीकाधिपो राजा मुराष्ट्रनगराधिपः ।
 प्राहिणोभूपतेः प्रीत्या ललामकमनीयकम् ॥२७॥
 चित्रवर्णल्लसत्पक्षलक्ष्यशोभान् महीपतेः ।
 पक्षिणो मुचकुन्दारुयान् प्राहिणोदक्षि मुन्दरान् ॥२८॥
 जिघांसया चरन् सोऽपि भूपतेः प्राकृतैर्गुणैः ।
 बद्धो हिंस्रोऽपि डिल्लेशो बल्लूको रल्लकोपमः ॥२९॥
 कश्चिच्छूरीराजहंसस्य राजहंसयुगं ददौ ।
 अन्ये हंसा यदुत्पन्ना राजहंसमरञ्जयन् ॥३०॥
 सरःस्वन्तर्भ्रमन्तस्ते निर्दाराः पङ्क्तिपावनाः ।
 तरङ्गतरोत्फुल्लश्वेतोत्पलतुलां दधुः ॥३१॥
 खुरासानमहीपस्य यस्यैवाज्ञा ह्यप्रभोः ।
 मूर्ध्ना मन्दारमालेव ध्रियते दिगधीश्वरैः ॥३२॥
 यस्यायुधाजितकराः किकराः सुभयंकराः ।
 यमस्य चापितकरा व्यचरन् धरणीतले ॥३३॥
 उत्तराशाधिपो मिर्जाभोसैदः स महीभुजे ।

उच्चाश्ववेसरीयुक्तं व्यसृजत् सोपधि चरम् ॥२४॥
 कतेफसोफसग्लातरुयातवस्त्राद्युपायनैः ।
 महम्मदसुरवाणो गुर्जरीशोप्यनूतुषत् ॥२५॥
 गिलानमिस्त्रमककादिदेशाधीशा हितेच्छया ।
 दुर्लभोपायनैस्तैस्तैर्न के भूपमरञ्जयन् ॥२६॥
 अनल्पाः शिल्पिनः कल्पवृक्षकल्पममुं न के ।
 भृङ्गा इवाययुर्दुराच्छिल्पकल्पितकल्पनाः ॥२७॥
 काश्मीरिका अथाप्यस्य तुरीवेमादिचातुरीम् ।
 कौशेयकं वयन्त्यद्य बहुमूल्यं मनोहरम् ॥२८॥
 ग्रौर्णाः सोफादयो वस्त्रविशेषा दूरदेशजाः ।
 काश्मीरिकाश्च भान्त्यद्य समयास्ति नृपोचिताः ॥२९॥
 विचित्रवयनोत्पन्नानाचित्रलताकुतीः ।
 दृष्ट्वा चित्रकरा येषु जाताश्चित्रापिता इव ॥३०॥
 अनन्ततंतुसंतानवर्णविच्छित्तिमुन्दरः ।
 वभौ कौशेयकाख्यातो देशो वेशश्च भूपतेः ॥३१॥
 नानावर्णविशेषचित्रकटकालंकारसारोचितो
 विद्यामानवराजितोऽतिसुखदः कौशेयताख्यातिमान् ।
 श्रीमान्नित्यमहोज्ज्वलोऽनुलगुणः सत्तन्यसंपत्तिभू-
 द्राज्ञा तेन विशेषितो निजधिया वेशोऽपि देशोऽपि च ॥३२॥

In verse 1 it is stated that Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn ordered the excavation of a new tank known as Jainsara in the city of Padmapura (modern Pampor). There, an early tank named Kramasara already existed and Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn wanted to eclipse its beauty and glory by this new tank.

The verse 2 refers to a water channel called Yamunā feeding that tank.

The verse 3 states that the king also ordered the construction of a new palace (*rājagriha*) on the bank of the lake, near the site of a temple dedicated to Kuloddharaṇa Nāga, most probably the family deity of the rulers of Kashmir. This seems to be a reference to the palace known Jaina Tank built on an island on the north-west corner of the Wulur lake. Its foundation was laid on the remains of a sunken temple. It is said that the site of the lake was formerly land, but owing to a saint's curse on the inhabitants of the place it turned to a lake.¹ The name of the local Nāga deity is mentioned as Kuloddharaṇa.

The verse 4 makes a special mention of the interest the king took in fostering various arts (*akhaṇḍa-kalā-kalāpa*). On this memorable occasion, the rulers of the various regions having realised the power and virtuous qualities of Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn, sent numerous presents. The ruler of Pañchanada (Panjab) country sent horses of *tājika* breed which had the auspicious *kalyāṇa-pañchaka* marks on their bodies.

¹ G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashir*, I, Lahore, 1948, pp. 159-160.

The king of the Māṇḍavya-Gauḍa country (Mandu in Madhya Pradesh) sent a particular fabric named *darandāma*, possibly derived from the Persian *darand*, fashion, mode, quality and *amma*, universal which would mean a stuff in general fashion. It is the same as *terrindam* or *turundam* of the English commerce, a plain muslin of superior quality woven chiefly in Dacca District. It is said to have been derived from *tarah*, kind and *andām*, body.² The king of Mandu is designated here as *Khaluchya*, who should be identified as the Khaljī ruler of Malwa. Mahumud I (1436-1469) was a contemporary of Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn.

In verse 11, it is stated that the king of Mandu had composed some poem in Persian (*kāvyamkritvā svabhāshayā*) and sent it as a present to Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn along with a large sum of money. It is stated to the credit of the Kashmiri ruler that he felt much more delighted with the text of the beautiful Persian poetry of the Malwa ruler than with other presents. It is stated that Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn loved poetry, and derived much pleasure from the company of poets.³

In verse 13, there is a reference to Kumbharāja (1433-68), viz. Rāṇā Kumbhā of Chittor, who sent presents of a particular kind of rich fabric known as *nārī-kuñjara*. The cloth was either printed over with *nārī-kuñjara* design or the design was produced in the weave of the cloth. We find paintings showing the *nārī-kuñjara* decorative motif in which women are shown embracing and interlaced with one another in a manner so as to give the design the form of an elephant on whose back the king is shown riding. In the fifteenth century this was a common motif in Western Indian painting. The word *nārī-kuñjara* also has reference to an erotic posture consisting of composite female figures.

In verse 14, there is a reference to a king named Dūgaraseha, i.e. Dūgarasimha of Gopālapura (Gwalior) who was ruling in about 1440 A.D. when he went to war against Bahlol Lodī. This king of Gwalior sent a text on the science of music named *Saṅgita-chūḍāmaṇi* which had chapters on *gīta*, *tāla*, *kalāvādya*, and *nāṭya*.

It is stated in verse 16 that after the death of Dūgaraseha, his son and successor Kīrtisimha continued to send presents and maintained the same harmonious relations with the Kashmir court as his father.

In verse 17, there is a reference to the presents sent by the king of Saurāshtra whose capital was Māṇḍalika mentioned in the *Lekha-paddhati*. The *Maṇḍali-pathaka* was an administrative division, its name most probably being preserved in the modern place named Mandali in North Gujarat, 2½ miles south of Delmai, and mentioned in the Kadi Grant of Ajayapāla.⁴ A particular textile named *māṇḍaliyā* is mentioned in the list of cloths in *Varṇaka-Samuchchaya*.⁵

² *Journal of Indian Textile History*, III, p. 72.

³ Sufi, loc. cit., p. 168.

⁴ A. K. Majumdar, *Chalukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956, p. 212.

⁵ *Varṇaka-Samuchchaya*, Baroda University, 1956, p. 180.

In verse 18, the same ruler of Saurāshṭra is stated to have sent as presents some beautiful birds of coloured plumage and eyes which were known as *muchukunda*. This seems to refer to the birds of the Monal family which were also known as *kuṇāla*. It is stated in the *Divyāvadāna* that Aśoka's son Kuṇāla was so named because his eyes had the beauty of the eyes of the *kuṇāla* bird.

The verse 19 is rather important as it mentions the Delhi Sultān Bahlol Lodī under the name of Bullūka (*Dillelo-Bullūkah*), who, although of a very cruel disposition, is referred to as turning timid like a deer (*rallakopamah*) on account of the natural qualities of Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn.

In verse 20, an unknown ruler is stated to have sent a pair of *rājahamsa* birds to the Kashmiri ruler, who is also compared to the royal goose.

The verse 21 provides some descriptive details of the scions of the *Hamsa* family. There are three epithets which apply equally to the princes of the royal blood and also to the white *hamsa* birds.

The epithet *nirdārāḥ* may be understood as referring to the swarms of *hamsa* birds flying through the mountain passes in the north of Kashmir. *Darā* also means a cleft or opening in the mountain which is synonymous with *randhra* or *dvāra*. The reference obviously is to the swarms of *hamsas* flying in the beginning of the rainy season through the passes of the Little Tibet or Leh-Ladakh and Hunza towards Central Asia, on account of which this region was known in ancient times as the Hamsa-Mārga country. As a matter of fact, there were two mountain openings, one in Kashmir in the Little Tibet region and the other in Kumaon which has been mentioned as Krauñcha-Randhra in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa. The *hamsas* or birds of the *krauñcha* family, fly in long unbroken lines which idea is here indicated by the second epithet *pañkti-pāvanah*.

The second epithet refers to a certain number of lakes in that region where the princes made merry in water sports like the *hamsas* dipping on the surface of the water pools. If these epithets are applied to the royal *hamsa*, we get a significant interpretation of the kingdom to which they belonged. The *hamsas* are the Bhikshu or Lama rulers of the kingdom of Ladakh. The epithet *nirdārāḥ* has reference to the monk kings, who were leading a celibate life and remained unmarried according to the rules of the Buddhist order. They could also be aptly described as *pañkti-pāvana* because of the special sanctity attached to the person of the Lama rulers who were considered as the very embodiment of divinity.

The third epithet refers to the secluded life led by these Lama rulers who very seldom gave public appearance, but were confined to the innermost parts of their garden palaces having ponds.

The verses 22 and 23 refer to the king of Khorasan whose country was rich in horses. It is stated in verse 23 that his soldiers armed with deadly weapons were moving about, wreaking vengeance on the people.

Verse 24 refers to Mirajā Bhosaida as the king of the North who sent his emissaries to Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn with the present of big horses and mules. This Bhosaida is Mirza Abū Said (1452-1469) grandfather of the Mughal Emperor Babur.

In verse 25, mention is made of Sultān Muhammad, ruler of Gujarat, who must be identified with the famous Mahmud Begarhā (1458-1511). He sent costly textile pieces as presents. Among these three names are particularly mentioned, *katepha*, *sopha* and *saglāta*. The first is to be identified with the rich fabrics imported from Al-qatīf in the Persian Gulf. According to Duarte Barbosa, *Al-qatīf* was manufactured in Cambay and exported from Diu. *Al-qatīf* was most probably a kind of costly velvet. *Sopha* was a woollen fabric, and *saglāta* was a well-known fabric of red colour, manufactured in Iran and Iraq. It is frequently mentioned in medieval texts.⁶

The verse 26 makes a general reference to the presents sent by the rulers of Gilān a province of Iran south of the Caspian Sea. King Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn is stated to have established foreign relations with the kings of Khorasan, Turkestan, Azarbaijan (a province of north-western Iran), Gilan, Seistan and Sultan of Turkey, the Mamlukes of Egypt and the Sheriff of Mecca.⁷

The verse 27 mentions the extraordinary patronage to arts and crafts in the time of Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn who attracted artisans and worksmen from distant countries and acted like Kalpa-vṛiksha (the Wish-fulfilling Tree) to them. It is further stated in verse 28 that the Kashmiris themselves practised the art of weaving and became adepts in the production of silken cloth.

The verse 29 supplies the important information that the special woollen stuffs like *sopha* and others which were once imported into Kashmir from distant countries, but due to the zealous patronage of Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn they began to be produced in Kashmir itself and the craft was developed to such an extent that woollen cloth of the finest quality began to be produced. It is further mentioned in verse 30 that patterns of creepers etc. produced in the course of weaving filled even the painters with surprise. In verse 31 it is said that silk and cloth was also produced by mixing yarns of varied colours. Kashmir it seems became famous for these rich textiles in the reign of Zain-ul-Āb-e-dīn.

There is no doubt that in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Śrīvara, we are face to face with a poet who knew the facts of Kashmir history and who brought into his narrative a rich stock of actual historical references of which he had first hand knowledge.

⁶ *Journal of Indian Textile History*, V, see under respective headings.

⁷ G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashir*, Vol. I, p. 171.

PAINTED WOODEN MAṆḌAPA FROM GUJARAT

S. K. Andhare

Wood carving and sculpture in ancient India could go back to a very hoary antiquity, though unfortunately, examples of old wood work are not available, as they have mostly perished. The wooden columns of the Katarmal temple¹ from Almora, the carved wooden door from the medieval temple from Ter² in Usmanabad district and the façades of the wooden temple from Chamba³ are among the few surviving examples which show the excellence the art of wood carving had attained in ancient India. However, the technique of wood carving is so conservative that its ancient features are still preserved in the Himalayan districts and also in the wood work of Gujarat and South India.

In Gujarat the tradition in wood-work is preserved in the Jaina *maṇḍapas* and also in the façades and balconies of the houses. In South India as well, the survivals may be found in the *rathas* or chariots carved with the figures of gods and goddesses and also other decorative motifs.

From the study of Jaina wooden *maṇḍapas* it is evident that they continued the traditions of stone relief of Dilwara temples of Abu and also the temples of Śātruṅjaya Hills. It is apparent that the tradition of medieval stone sculpture of Gujarat which initiated the local schools of sculpture and encouraged the wood carver to work in the same style to a certain extent continues even today. It is also apparent that the wood carving of Gujarat in the Mughal period is a synthesis of the traditional and the Mughal styles of Akbar period.

The wooden house shrines and Jaina temples in Gujarat show a definite stylistic affiliation to the traditional medieval sculpture of Gujarat. For instance, the Vādi-Pārśvanātha temple at Aṇhīlvādā Pāṭaṇ⁴ built in the year 1594-96 A.D., the wooden house shrine door from Surat, Gujarāt⁵ and the wooden house shrine or the *maṇḍapa*, (Fig. 29) probably from Pāṭaṇ, in the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay, are stylistically more or less alike.

The ascription to the early group of *maṇḍapas* by some scholars to the middle of the 16th century, has no logical basis. Moreover, there is no doubt that the Prince of Wales Museum *maṇḍapa* on stylistic ground and specially on the basis of costume may safely be dated to the Akbar period, i.e. 1590 A.D. While the decorative elements as also the figures of the gods

¹ *Achaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1922*, pp. 50-51.

² *Ter-Tagara, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902-3*, Pl. xxx.

³ Dr. Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden, 1955, Pl. II.

⁴ Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* and B. N. Treasurywala, *Wood Sculpture from Gujarat*, Rupam, 1928, No. 35-36.

⁵ *Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda*, Vol. V, Figs. 1-3.

and goddesses in the *maṇḍapa* follow the medieval tradition, there are other elements such as costume which show a definite affiliation to the Akbar period. For instance, the *chākdār* or pointed *jāma* which appears on the friezes of the *maṇḍapa* is a distinguishing feature of the costume of Akbar period. There is also another type of *jāma* which conforms to the *gherdār jāma* of Akbar period. The female dancing figures and musicians (Figs. 31a, 31b) on the narrative friezes may also be noted for their typical Mughal costumes. A short skirt and *choli* with a long and narrow *dupattā* is the common Mughal dress of the dancers appearing in contemporary paintings.

Standing on a double stepped platform of 188 cms. long 156 cms. wide and 39 cms. high, the *maṇḍapa* is supported by four elaborately decorated and slightly recessed pillars with miniature niches enshrining the dancing figures of heavenly musicians and male and female deities. These pillars were red lacquered and painted with gold of which traces have remained. At the bottom (Fig. 30a) are the figures of Vishṇu and Brahmā holding *chakra*, *gadā*, *mālā* and *kamaṇḍalu*. At some places are shown Vishṇu or Brahmā and musicians playing *vīṇā*. These deities are attended by one or more male attendants. The capitals are profusely carved with Mughal and indigenous motifs including the figures of birds and musicians in niches and recessed ornamentation. Like many other Gujarati *maṇḍapas* the pillars are provided with bracket figures. Originally there were brackets on four sides of the pillars and under the dome but unfortunately only two female figures of heavenly musicians and a male *mṛdaṅga* player have survived. The latter wears the typical Mughal costume consisting of the *chākdār jāma* with six points, a *paṭkā* reaching the knees and a long scarf which slides down under both arms and a small compact *aṭṭaṭṭi* turban. The female musicians are dressed in a short *choli*, a tight skirt, *pāijāma*, and long thin brocaded scarf which comes down the shoulders in a loose knot between the legs. Profuse use of pompons, tassels and ornaments is apparent.

On the top of the capitals are fixed four entablatures which support the dome. The *chhajjā* rests on square blocks to fit in and decorate the front and sides; it has balisters made of ivory and the inside is carved with floral patterns. The friezes are carved with scenes similar to Buddhist *Jātaka* reliefs and at the back there is a frieze of geese holding lotus buds in their beaks.

Before we go on to the descriptions of the relief scenes, it may be pointed out that the scenes have been carved and painted with a view to emphasise the composition. The carvers have left no vacant spaces and the interspaces are filled with appropriate symbols or other objects. The *maṇḍapa* is Jain and therefore, the subject-matter follows the stories of the Tīrthaṅkaras and the Jain monks. It is difficult to identify all the incidents depicted due to obliteration of the paint and the ageing and chipping of the wood. The friezes represent processions with elephants, horses and riders, footmen with palaquins, chariots driven by horses and oxen, male drummers riding camels and horsemen blowing trumpets vigorously. An Āchārya preaching to the monks is also a favourite theme.

Above the friezes rising an octagonal dome (Figs. 30b, 31c) reaching a height of 46 cms., decorated with concentric circles from inside. The following motifs appear in the concentric circles from the bottom to the top which impart the feeling of sumptuousness and dignity to the *mandapa*:—

1. Seated figures of Jaina devotees in an octagon;
2. A course of small lotus petals;
3. A decorative course with vertical palmate-like decoration;
4. A vertical decorative motif;
5. Figures of *dikpālas* in pairs against painted ground with delicate floral motif in between them;
6. A course of small square struts;
7. A decorative course with vertical palmate-like decoration;
8. A course of lotus buds in groups of three;
9. A course of partially open and painted lotus flowers;
10. A delicate floral meander;
11. A full blown lotus pendant painted rich red and white hanging from the apex with leaves in green colour.

Externally, the dome has the appearance of a receding stepped pedestal with simple ornamentation consisting of the figures of Gajalakshmi and *pūrṇakumbhas* in miniature niches. The *pūrṇakumbhas* are flanked by parrots on either side. It appears that the crowning part of the dome is missing as it leaves a feeling of incompleteness, when one looks at the top.

The narrative friezes which form an indispensable part of the *mandapa* are described below:—

The fourteen dreams of Devānandā (Figs. 32a). The entrance relief under the beaded *chhajjā* depicts the dreams of Devānandā, a common motif in Jain art. It is interesting to note the close resemblance of the representation of the fourteen dreams in the *Kalpasūtra*, of the paper period and the wood carving. The fundamental characteristics of Western Indian influence are unmistakably apparent. The dreams from the left to the right are:

(1) An elephant, (2) a bull, (3) a lion, (4) Lakshmi, (5) pair of garlands, (6) the moon, (7) the sun, (8) the flag, (9) the water vessel, (10) the lotus lake, (11) the ocean of milk, (12) the aerial car, (13) the jewel casket, (14) the smokeless fire. Nos. 1, 13 and 14 being on the projections of the beams are hidden from view.

Marriage procession. (Fig 32b). The panel is divided by a beautifully stylized tree in the centre with climbing monkeys having long tails. To the left is a horse-driven chariot with a seated female figure, followed by a horseman blowing trumpet. Note the pointed ends of the *jāma* and the small compact *pagri* of the Akbar period. He is followed by a drummer riding a camel. To the extreme right in the corner is a caparisoned elephant equipped with an *ambāri* carrying a female figure; a driver and an attendant holding a flag. The elephant is followed by a footman holding a sword and a shield. The horseman following him is blowing trumpet followed by a drummer on a camel. Parrots are seen flying in the background.

Dancing and music. (Fig 32c). To the left on the outer side of the *maṇḍapa* is a panel showing dancing and music. The panel is divided by a tree bearing fruits under which is seated the donor. To the right is a couple of female dancers followed by male musicians playing on their respective musical instruments—a *pauvaj*, a flute, cymbals and a double sided drum (*mṛidaṅga*) respectively. The costumes of the female dancing figures are typically Mughal. To the left stand the followers of the donor; an attendant holds a tray, a soldier stands with a sword, a groom stands holding a prancing horse and an elephant driver waits with a caparisoned elephant.

Ceremonial procession. (Fig. 32d). To the left a palanquin (*pālkhī*) with a rich Jain devotee being carried by two attendants preceded by a horseman. In the centre is a crowned chief wearing a *mukula* and a garland, holding a lotus in his right hand standing in between two attendants, holding a *chhatra* and a *nishān* respectively. To his right is a prancing horse held by a groom and to the left two male attendants holding unidentifiable objects. In the right corner of the panel appear two symbols, namely, *nandīāvarta* and *svastika*.

Preaching in a Jain temple. (Fig. 33a). The scene is laid on a rocky landscape with four miniature shrines enshrining the Jain Tirthaṅkaras flanked by two symbols on either side, a miniature shrine on a rocky pedestal, and a recessed lotus lake under a tree. After that appear two miniature shrines enshrining the images of Sumatirātha and Supārśvanātha, the fifth and the seventh Tirthaṅkaras respectively, whose cognizances are the *krauñcha* bird and *svastika* respectively. In between the two shrines appears a leafy spray under which may be seen a pair of wooden sandals (*pādukās*). In the right corner is a Jain Āchārya preaching seated on a stool in front of a *Sihāpanāchārya* (a common name for the wooden stand used by the Jain monks or teachers to keep holy book on them) and is preaching to monks holding brooms (*rajoharaṇas*). The last shrine is occupied by a seated Jain Tirthaṅkara, a mirror and an unidentifiable symbol from the *aṣṭamaṅgala*.

The reverse of this panel has an ornamental repeat of geese holding lotus buds in their beaks.

Procession of a Jain woman in a chariot. (Fig. 33b). In the front are two highly caparisoned elephants, equipped with *ambāris* having *pādukās* inside,

being followed by two soldiers wearing *chākdār jāma*. In the centre is an ox chariot with the seated figure of a Jaina monk clad in white holding a *rajoharaṇa*. The chariot is again followed by two musketeers and a couple of cavaliers.

Procession of elephants. (Fig. 33c). The scene depicts a big procession in which elephants, horse-riders and footmen take part. Starting from the left are the two signs from the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, probably the first *bhadrāsana*(?) and the second *vardhamāna samṇa*(?). The procession starts with a footman holding shield and a sword followed by a cavalier. In the centre are two rows of heavily caparisoned elephants carrying *ambārīs* with seated female figures, attendants and drivers holding goads. The elephants appear to be three-headed but the device is meant to show that they are three in a row walking side by side in a big procession. They hold lotus stalks with flowers in their trunks. Two horse-riders are at the end of the procession.

A MAGNIFICENT SAPTMĀTRIKĀ GROUP AND PĀRVATĪ FROM VADAVĀL, NORTH GUJARAT

K. V. Soundara Rajan and R. T. Parikh

(*Introductory Note:* The sculptures under study are located in a modern shed with brick walls and corrugated sheet roofing, situated on a knoll in the village common of Vadaval village about 4 miles from Deesa downstream on the western bank of Banas river in Banaskantha District of North Gujarat. They were first noted by Shri R. T. Parikh during 1959-60. A Viṣṇu and a Sūrya sculpture also found here had already been described by him elsewhere¹. He brought the nature of the other sculptures to my notice. However, owing to administrative exigencies, I was unable to pay a personal visit to Vadaval. This materialised recently and I am indeed obliged to Shri Parikh for realising the distinctive nature of this sculptural group and bringing it under my scrutiny. I am, therefore, happy to associate him with this paper. K.V.S.)

The sculptures, excluding that of Pārvatī, which will be dealt with separately in the following pages, number ten in all, of which there are seven Mātrikās, Gaṇeśa, Chāmūṇḍā or Kālī, Kāla and a Viṇādhara Vṛishavāhana Śiva. It would at once be seen that excepting for the absence of Kārttikeya this represents one of the most comprehensive assemblage of the Mātrikā group known, and constitutes a patent fusion of more than one regional tradition in the delineation of the group. Quite apart from the intrinsic merit and captivating charm of each member of the assemblage as a convincing index of the Western Indian school of pre-mediaeval art, we are fortunate in getting other links of the causative chain in the unique composition of the group from other places. We are, however, unfortunate in not knowing where these images originally came from nor how is it that they come to be installed in comparative desuetude and pitiable disarray at Vadaval village. No information is forthcoming from the villagers on this point. Nevertheless, as would be apparent in the following pages, the sculptures are characteristic products of the later phase of the Western Indian sculpture, nurtured at Shamlaji and other places in Sabarkantha District and could be placed in the first half of the ninth century A.D., if not slightly earlier. They are thus valuable additions to our knowledge of this phase of early Gujarat iconography and should join the company of other earlier and later specimens of this kind known to us already from Shamlaji, Kotyarka (Mahudi), Tintoi, Roda, etc. They, nonetheless, possess a distinctive cohesion of more than one iconographic tradition and in this lies their special claim to our attention.

¹ R.T., Parikh *The Sculptures from Vadaval near Deesa (North Gujarat)*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda, No. 4, Vol. X, June 1960, pp. 392.

The Saptamātrikā tradition is indeed, hieratically, as old as the evolution of the god Kārttikeya since the Saptamātrikās were the divine foster mothers to the baby Skanda.² They represented in effect, the cumulative strength of the female potentials of the outstanding gods of the early Brahmanical pantheon, and they were represented particularly in Śaivite shrines from comparatively early times. The Āgamas and the ritual texts which deal with the Mātrikās state that they should be generally seven in number — although we have rare cases of eight Mātrikās also as at Elephanta — and should be flanked by Bhairava and Gaṇeśa. The present Saptamātrikā group also conforms to that regulation and we have fortunately, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava (as an Atirikṭāṅga) available with this group. We, however, propose to deal with unique features of this group first and then try to place the actual zones from which these features were derived.

A matter of primary interest in the group under study is that all the figures are standing in full stature. Most of the Saptamātrikā groups of the mediaeval times are invariably seated and even the Āgamas describe them as seated in their respective *āsanas* and mention the typical features of each. The fact that these figures are standing would indicate an early period. The Western Indian rock-cut specimens from Ellora, Elephanta, etc. show only seated figures, and though they are admittedly earlier, we are tempted to assume that Vadaval Saptamātrikās are not influenced by them. It may, however, be noted here that the unique rock-cut dancing Saptamātrikās at Aihole are standing and bear resemblance to the present group. These Saptamātrikās carry invariably, except in a few cases, a child on their hip or in their arms and are shown fondling them. Thus, their Mother Goddess aspect is brought out although Saptamātrikās are the protective divinities to Skanda-Kārttikeya and did not have originally any Mother Goddess aspect. The figures are described below. The descriptions will help us to compare them with Saptamātrikās in and outside this region.

GAṆEŚA (Fig. 34a): The two-armed Gaṇeśa standing in *abhaṅga* pose with the left elbow resting on the head of a standing male attendant is simple in conception. The right arm in *kartari-hasta* (the fingers are damaged) is presumably holding a flower. The god wears a necklet, a chest-band part of which is descending across the belly to the proper right, armlets, wristlets and anklets. He wears a tight loin-cloth and an *uttariya*. One tusk is broken in keeping with his traditional name Ekadanta. A mouse—his mount—is to the proper right of the image and is looking up.

BRĀHMĪ (Fig. 34b): The first of the Saptamātrikās stands in *samabhaṅga* with a female attendant to the proper right and her mount, the goose, to the proper left. She has four arms and is holding a child in the left lower hand while the two upper arms carry the ladle (*sruk*) and the water-jug (*kamaṇḍalu*)

² See: *saptaloka-mātrībhiḥ-sapta-mātrībhiḥ - abhivardhitānām - Kārttikeya - parirakṣhaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparāpām* in early Chalukyan grants.

respectively. The lower right arm is in *varada-hasta*. She has three heads, each adorned with a *jaṭāmukha*. She wears earrings, necklet, a pearl-necklace,³ armlets, bracelets and a zone. The dress comprises a lower garment coming down to the ankles and tucked in at the waist firmly, the hem lying to the right side of the centre. The upper garment or *uttariya* is simply lying in a curved and folded layer across the knees and the upper ends rest around the elbows.

MĀHEŚVARĪ (Fig. 35a): This is a very rare specimen and has many features which do not usually occur in Māheśvarī figures. The image shows a young woman standing in *abhaṅga* pose. Her hair is neatly combed and tied into a bun at the back and decorated with pearl strands, gold clasps, etc. She wears *patra*-and *makra-kunḍalas* in the right and left ears respectively—a typical feature of Śiva-Pārvatī association. She also wears a necklet, a pearl necklace and bracelets, anklets and a zone. The lower hands are unfortunately broken but a *danḍa* stretching across the belly, carries a corpse. The position of the *danḍa* clearly shows that the two arms must have held the *danḍa*. Now this *kaṅkāla-danḍa* is associated with Bhairava who had to carry the skeleton of Viśvakṣena in atonement of his sin. It is interesting to note that Māheśvarī has been identified with this aspect of Śiva-Bhairava. It seems the nudity of the figure had been deliberately emphasised to ensure its importance for the Śāktas. Her *vāhana*, a howling jackal, also accompanies Chāmuṇḍā or Bhairavī. A seated male attendant with his face looking up is shown to the left. The representation of a male instead of a female attendant to Māheśvarī is again significant. This is perhaps a unique feature and may indicate that the temple to which this image belonged must have been a Tantric place of worship of some importance.

KAUMĀRĪ (Fig. 35b): The two armed figure is in *samabhaṅga* pose, and represents a beautiful lady. The ornaments and dress are almost similar to that of Brāhmī excepting the casual and elegant twist that has been given to the *stana-sūtra*—as an index perhaps of youthful abandon. The hairstyle is distinctive. The proper right arm carries the spear the weapon of Kārttikeya, while the proper left hand holds the diminutive cock a distinctive feature of Kārttikeya sculptures of Gujarat. We have the peacock mount again of Kārttikeya also at the base.

At this stage we have to pause and introduce another distinctive feature of the Saptamātrikā group, namely, the appearance of Śiva as the central figure. It may be pointed out that Śiva as a central figure in a Saptamātrikā group appears at least in three places, namely, the rock-cut dancing Saptamātrikās from Aihole, wherein Śiva is also dancing in *chatura tāṇḍava* pose in the centre of the group; in a similar rock-cut Saptamātrikā panel from Mandore wherein again, Śiva is the central figure and in *chatura* pose and lastly in the

³ "Muktāhāra - viḍambamāna - vilasat - vakshojha - kumbhān - dharim" — *Annapurnāstotra* of Śaṅkara, V. 2, and "Kokākāra - kucha - dvayopari - lasat - prālamba - hārāñchite - *Minākshī* *stotra* of Śaṅkara, V. 3.

structural temple of Śiva at Kera in Kutch, where in the Saptamātṛikā group on the lintel of the door frame Śiva is shown seated in the middle of the seated goddesses. While the import of these sculptures will be dealt further on, it should be noted here that the sculpture from Kera (Kutch) represents Śiva in a similar way as in the Vadaval sculpture under reference.

ŚIVA (Fig. 35b): The standing four armed Śiva of the Saptamātṛikā group from Vadaval wears the *jaṭāmukūṣa*, *patra* and *makara-kunḍalas*, a necklet, armlets, bracelets and anklets and a cobra garland. The dress comprises a lower garment covering the entire lower body upto the ankle and tucked securely at the waist in a loop by a folded upper garment. The bull-mount is shown at the base located just behind Śiva while a diminutive male attendant with folded hands stands to the right. The god is holding in his two upper hands a trident and a cobra respectively and in the lower hands a *vinā* or lute. The figure is thus a Viṇādhara Vṛishavāhana Śiva. This is another rare feature, which, however, appears in the Kera sculpture as well.

AINDRĪ OR INDRĀṆĪ (Fig. 36a): This, together with the figures of Vārāhī and Vaishnavī is shown in cross-legged stance with the child held on the right side of the body, and a little aloft, as if the mother is playing with it. Her dress and ornaments are almost exactly as those of Kaumārī, except that the upper garment at the back ends in a pleated array. This arrangement of the drapery is in tune with the rhythmic movement of the stance. The upper two arms hold a flower and thunderbolt (*vajra*) respectively. The child in the lower hands stretches out its left hand playfully to reach and grasp the flower held by the mother. The *vāhana* of the goddess, namely, the elephant is shown crouching at the base, behind the standing figure.

VĀRĀHĪ (Fig 36b): Unlike the Āgamic injunction that Vārāhī is to be shown with a fierce face, the sculptor has carved this figure in a mild and gracious mood. Perhaps beset with the difficulty of representing a young lady with the face of a sow, he achieved a remarkable success by emphasizing the beauty of the body and the joys of the motherhood. The four-armed figure holds the child with the two lower arms, the right upper arm is free, and the left one holds the hem of the *uttariya*. The finely braided hair-locks of the mane fall down the back and are fastened with chords at intervals. The female attendant of the deity is standing to the right of the figure. The raised left hand is holding the right foot of the child. A buffalo, the vehicle of Vārāhī, is also shown.

VAISHNAVĪ (Fig. 37a): This figure is in *tribhaṅga* pose, and in cross-legged stance. The costume and ornaments are the same as those of Kaumārī. The child is held on the left side, with the left hand, while the lower right hand restrains the mischievous pranks of the child who is having a go at the left earring of its mother. The upper hands hold the *gadā* (mace) and *chakra* (discus), the weapons of Viṣṇu. The original mount at the foot, which should have been Garuḍa, is missing, but a female attendant as in other cases is shown on the right side.

CHĀMUṆḌĀ (Fig. 37b): This is unlike the usual representations of Chāmuṇḍā though ferocious and dynamic as usual. The four-armed figure is in *sambhaṅga* with the usual *atiriktāṅga* or emaciated ribbed chest, the prominent spine and neck, the pendulous skinny breasts, the sunken eyes, the cavernous abdomen and the bony body. The *jaṭāmukūṣa* is tied with a *nāga-bandha*. She wears a necklet and a girdle of snakes and a clinging lower garment and a skull-necklace (*muṇḍamālā*) running right below the knees. Only two arms are reasonably intact; the left hand is held at shoulder level, and the little finger at the lip expresses the eerie pleasure of the goddess. She is standing over a corpse (*pretāsana*), while a howling jackal stands nearby. The figure is almost a prototype—except for its lesser number of hands—of the Ellora-Kailāsa (Yājñasālā) Chāmuṇḍā from the Saptamātrikā group or that in Ramesvara cave. An interesting similarity is that Bhairava is also in an *atiriktāṅga* form and is similar to that at Ellora in the two aforementioned cave shrines. They are taken there as representing Kāla and Kālī. They also appear in an identical way, in life size, on the either side wall of the old entrance gate to Mahākūṭeśvara temple complex near Badami. It is possible, therefore, to suggest that the iconography of Chāmuṇḍā and Bhairava at Vadaval owe their origin to an original Chālukya-Rāshtrakūṭa idiom.

BHAIRAVA (Fig. 37c): This standing figure of four handed Bhairava with a cadaverous face, shrunken neck, ribbed chest and bony body wears a snake girdle. He is shown as standing on a corpse with a howling jackal rearing on its hind feet.

The above descriptions of the Mātrikās and the attendant Gaṇeśa and Bhairava images should impress us that here we are dealing with an interesting and important group. It is unfortunate that we are not in a position to trace its original provenance, but its style is so close to the kind of work witnessed at Shamlaji, Roda, Tintoi, Mahudi, etc. that it should not require much persuasion to place it in North Gujarat, perhaps not far from Banaskantha District where it is now located. It might have come either from Sabarkantha area in which Shamlaji, Tintoi and Mahudi are located, or it might have come from the neighbouring border area of Sirohi and the vicinity of Jagat. The stone employed in the sculpture is not the patchy schist (dark blue or greenish blue) utilised in the carvings of Shamlaji, but is a fine quality sandstone. The possibility is that the source of the stone for the Vadaval sculptures is the same as those of Roda and Jagat sculptures. We have, however, sitting Mātrikā sculptures dated to 600-700 A.D. by U.P. Shah,⁴ made of green schist, from as far distant as Delwada, Mt. Abu and the Dungarpur-Ratanpur area. Even Jagat had some loose Mātrikā sculptures of green schist of the Shamlaji school although the entire Jagat temple is made of the fine brownish grey sandstone. It is likely that there was a marked preference for schist in the early phase of the Western Indian sculpture, lasting upto about 700 A.D. ; thereafter there appears to be a marked preference for sandstone in Gujarat and Saurashtra.

⁴ U. P. Shah, *Sculpture from Śāmlājī and Roḍā*. Baroda 1960.

On stylistic grounds, we note that the sculptures of the earlier group from Shamlaji are notable for their expressiveness and heavy body, elaborate head jewellery and a slight disproportion in the limbs such as the stumpiness of lower parts of the legs, etc., which is, however, camouflaged by the aesthetic appeal of the sculptures. In the next stage, as perhaps seen at Roda, a certain degree of refinement appears to impart a romantic appeal to the sculpture. These developments are said to be due to the fusion of Gupta and Maitraka traditions, and we are asked not to look beyond the geographical limits of Gujarat for artistic influences. However, it may be pointed out that in the neighbouring area in the south, the Chālukya-Rāshtrakūṭa art forms were in their prime between 600-800 A.D. and it would be futile to talk in terms of an insulated Western school in Gujarat unaffected by the various art forms flourishing in the Deccan. As a result we have to look for the Chālukya-Rāshtrakūṭa art forms which influenced the Gujarat school of sculpture. Needless to say, we do have instances of such a fusion and the Saptamātrikās under study may be cited as an appropriate example. While on one hand, we have the size, the stance and the style of the Gujarat school, there is no doubt of the Chālukya iconographic traditions which have imparted to it a powerful cult symbolism, and a dynamic physical charm. This should have happened in Gujarat around the ninth century A.D.

Some outstanding variations between the early Shamlaji school and the ninth century school represented by the Saptamātrikās⁵ under study may be noted here. Among sculptures of the Shamlaji group, male figures do not wear a necklace hanging upto the abdomen nor do female figures have a garland hanging between the breasts and down the navel but wear only a heavy necklet, sometimes more than one in number. Secondly, while the figures of Śiva in the Shamlaji group often wear a tiger-skin with the head of the tiger, the later sculptures of Gujarat eschew this convention. The Saptamātrikās in Shamlaji group are often shown standing, their lower garment is prominently shown in many fan-like pleats, falling between the legs—almost hiding the outline of the body. This convention is improved in the later stage when the ornaments are fewer and the body outline receives considerable emphasis. We have, however, the device of the child playing with the earrings of the mother both at Shamlaji and in the Vadaval sculptures.

Coming to iconographic differences between the earlier and later Saptamātrikā groups, we find that Chāmuṇḍā is represented in a less ferocious form in the earlier stages as at Roda⁶ and at Shamlaji.⁷ The lion-mount is shown but the jackal does not appear. Vārāhī from Shamlaji has the boar as her cognizance while it is buffalo in the Vadaval Vārāhī as specified in the *Āgamas*. In Shamlaji sculptures the child is invariably held on the left hip, while

⁵ These Saptamātrikās from Vadaval have now been acquired by the Museology Department of M. S. University, Baroda.

⁶ U. P. Shah, *op. cit.*, Fig. 67.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Fig. 38.

in the Vadaval images this rule does not hold good. Some of the Mātṛikās do not hold a child while some others hold it on either side in a playful attitude. The animal and bird mounts are prominently displayed in the Shamlaji images, while in the Vadaval groups they appear unobtrusively on the base. It appears that in the images of Vadaval group there is a conscious attempt to improve the composition. The method of the representation of Chāmūṇḍā, Bhairava, and Māheśvarī and the appearance of Śiva as a central piece are conscious attempts in this direction.

We have already mentioned that Chāmūṇḍā and Bhairava of the Vadaval group have close similarity with the similar figures at Ellora and Mahākūṭeśvara. It may be noted that in the Mātṛikā figures at Ellora a child does not invariably accompany all the figures. The appearance of a child only emphasises the motherhood. We have in the Ellora and Vadaval groups, the *pretāsana* and howling jackals associated with Chāmūṇḍā and Bhairava, a feature which otherwise is absent in the sculptures of Gujarat. We have a unique Māheśvarī whose iconography is totally at variance with the known examples from Gujarat. The *kaṅkāla-daṇḍa*, her complete nudity, her male attendant, and her being without a child, should all go to mark her out as a cult goddess of some significance. It is very likely that this Māheśvarī had a specific ritual purpose in the worship of the group. It would be interesting to know if the Pāśupatas or Kālāmukhas had anything to do with this iconographic peculiarity. It may be noted here that in the early tenth century, we have an elaboration of the Mother Goddess cult at Ambāji temple at Jagat, where the gods are conspicuous by their absence. The Ambāji temple, however, does not give any importance to the Saptamātṛikās, who are relegated to a secondary and unimportant place on the door jambs without any connection with the Ambāmātā cult. Thus we are tempted to suggest that there were two forms of Śakti cult, one of which was the Saptamātṛikā cult associated with Śiva-Chāmūṇḍā-Kārttikeya group and the other the Ambā or the Universal Mother cult associated with Durgā-Lakshmī-Sarasvatī group.

As regards the presence of Śiva in the midst of the Saptamātṛikās in the Vadaval group may be suggestive of role the goddesses played in the Andhakāsuravadha. As we have already pointed out three such examples are known. At Aihole, rock-cut panel in Ravalphadi cave amidst the dancing Saptamātṛikās Śiva is shown dancing the *tāṇḍava* and we have here both Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya represented as young boys. In the second example at Mandore again the Saptamātṛikās, as at Aihole, are standing but unlike the Aihole ones, they hold children and Śiva is shown dancing *tāṇḍava*. Kārttikeya also appears in the Ashṭamātṛikā panel in the main cave at Elephanta. All these may be dated to the mid-seventh century A.D. We have examples of sculptured lintels of Saptamātṛikās from structural temples such as at Kera in Kutch District already referred to. Here among the seated row of the Divine Mothers, Śiva also (Fig. 38) appears. The similarity between the Kera Śiva and the Śiva of Vadaval group lies in the fact that both are Vīṇādhara and Vṛisha-

vāhana, which is not the case in the two rock-cut specimens noted above. Besides, on a comparative basis of the structural architecture of the times in Kutch, the Kera temple in Kutch may be dated to the tenth century and the similar but slightly evolved kind of temple at Manjal also in Kutch is slightly later in date to Kera temple. The Vadaval sculptures would, on the other hand, seem to precede the Kera temple sculpture, not only on common features, but also on account of the elements directly drawn from the Chālukya-Rāshtrakūṭa region. The sculptures should certainly not be later, in any event, than ninth century A.D. They as succeeding the Roda temple could not be earlier than about c. 800 A.D., and could not be later than Kera temples of about 900 A.D. Thus they are fairly and squarely to be placed in early mid-ninth century A.D., and this would meet all the requirements. It would give sufficient time for the Chālukyan and the Rāshtrakūṭa impulses from Aihole and Ellora and Elephanta to spread northward into Gujarat, and would also give time for the development of the Western school of art at Shamlaji, Mahudi, Kotyarka, etc. and later on at Tintoi, Roda, etc. The Śiva-Pārvatī image from Karvan in Central Gujarat dated by U.P. Shah in the seventh century as a matter of fact shows later features and, therefore, may be dated to the end of the seventh century A.D. or even later, though the origin of our Mātṛikā group may be traced in the Karvan sculpture which had acented Chālukyan influence. In any event it may be confidently stated that the Vadaval sculptures show a synthesis of the later North Gujarat school and the southern Chālukyan school, whose intermediary links may perhaps be found at Karvan in South Gujarat and other places. It is also significant to note that the unusual iconographic representation of Māheśvarī of our group may have something to do with the renowned centre of Pāśupata cult such as Karvan—the hallowed birth place of Lakulīṣa—a part of Śiva himself.

Before we may conclude the evaluation of the Saptamātṛikās at Vadaval, attention may be drawn to the Pārvatī figure (Fig. 39). This figure is in *sambhaṅga* pose with the feet firmly planted on the ground. She carries a Śivaliṅga on a lotus stalk in the upper hand and the diminutive Gaṇeśa on a staff with crooked end. The lower right hand is in *varada-hasta* and the left holds *kamaṇḍalu*. The drapery is almost like those of the Saptamātṛikās described above. She wears a necklace and *jaṭāmukuta* since the figure represents Pārvatī performing *pañcāgni-tapas* to attain Śiva as her husband. The four 'fires' are shown at the lower part on the side pilasters. Two attendants, one male and the other female, with folded hands sit with their legs flexed. An iguana (*godhā*), the vehicle of the goddess, is shown on the *padmapiṭha* on which the goddess stands. The eyes of the goddess are downcast and closed in deep meditation (*samādhi*). The *prabhāvalī*, shows the *navagraha* heads. The figure, iconographically fixed by *Vishṇudharmottara* and other texts, is Pārvatī performing the penance prior to her winning Śiva as her lord.

We have several examples of Pārvatī practising penance from Ellora, in Lankeśvara cave, in the cave adjacent to Kailāsa and in one of the Rameśvara

panels. These mostly belong to mid ninth century A.D. except in the case of the last which perhaps is as early as the seventh century A.D. and is in a narrative panel. We have a correspondingly Pārvatī in figure of preaching penance shown at Roda.⁸ These depict the scene in a rigid form. In the first example, the *liṅga* and Gaṇeśa are shown on the side pilasters and not in her hands and she has no attendants, but all other features including the *navagrahas* are there. This may perhaps be datable to late eighth century A.D.

From the evidences produced above, the unique Saptamātrikā group from Vadaval may be assigned to early ninth century A.D., while the age of Pārvatī figure, referred to above should be approximately c. 800 A.D. These Saptamātrikās undoubtedly belong to a glorious but as yet unidentified centre of art. It was probably from such a centre that architectural and artistic influences travelled to Kutch.

⁸ U. P. Shah, *op. cit.*, Figs. 66, 72.

TERRACOTTA PLAQUES FROM PĀHĀRPUR

B. V. Shetti

The collection of terracotta figures in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India has been enriched by the recent presentation of terracotta plaques from Pāhārpur by the Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, on a long term loan.

Pāhārpur (25° 2' N. Lat., 89° 3' E. Long.) is a village in Rājshāhi District, North Bengal, now in East Pakistan. The mound in this region was popularly called as Pahār or hill, from which the name Pāhārpur has originated.¹ Prior to Sir Alexander Cunningham, Pāhārpur was visited by Buchanan Hamilton and Westmacott. General Cunningham wanted to excavate the area but he was prevented by the owner of the land, Rājā of Balihar. When the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act was passed in 1919, Pāhārpur mound and its adjacent area came under the control of the Archaeological Department.

The first preliminary attempt at the excavation of this site was made in 1923, under the guidance of the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Further excavation work in this area was done by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Mr. G. C. Chandra.

With the rise of the Pālas who professed Buddhism, Buddhism became popular in Bengal and Bihar. Dharmapāla and Devapāla, the second and third rulers of this dynasty consolidated their empire during the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century A.D. It was during this age of prosperity that many new Buddhist monuments must have been raised in Bengal under the royal patronage. The biggest and the most important of these must have been the temple at Pāhārpur, which received the royal patronage from the early rulers of the Pāla dynasty. The primary structure of the Pāhārpur temple and the monastery may be safely attributed to the time of the early Pāla rulers in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. Though these monuments escaped the invasions of the enemies of the Pālas the final blow was struck by the forces of Islam in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Thereafter the temple and the monastery seemed to have passed into oblivion.

The gigantic brick temple at Pāhārpur is adorned with a single row of terracotta plaques set in recessed panels all round the basement and in double rows around the walls of the circumambulatory passage. The unique feature of the Pāhārpur terracottas is that they deal with local trends in art and the subject-matter is of mass appeal. This art depicts scenes in day to day life of the common people, their work and worries, their sports and pastime and

¹ K. N. Dikshit, *Excavations at Pāhārpur, Bengal*, Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of India, No. 55, Delhi, 1938, p. 1.

other aspects of their life, there are also representations of popular themes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Māhābhārata*, tales from the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*. Mythical birds and animals, composite and grotesque, also appeared in the Pāhārpur terracottas. Representations of gods and goddesses and other celestial beings like Gandharvas and Kinnaras are very common. A distinguishing feature of the terracottas is the humour which must have amused the onlooker. The ascetics who had renounced the wordly life also find a place among these plaques. The themes are so numerous and varied that it is impossible to enumerate all of them.

It is estimated that in all three thousand terracotta plaques must have adorned the monument in its original state. Of these only a small number can now be seen *in situ*. As major portion of the temple was damaged the large number of terracotta plaques were recovered loose and detached and now there is no means to establish their original positions. It is also not possible to determine any sequence of the subjects or the themes depicted. We do not know whether there was any such sequence in the original scheme. The skillful artists have tried to reproduce everything that their fertile brains imagined.

The ornamental terracotta plaques of Pāhārpur have also their parallels in the tiles from Harvan in Kashmir, plaques from Hanumangarh in Bikaner, carved bricks and decorative plaques covering the surface of the Stūpa at Mirpurkhas in Sind, terracotta figure from Rajghat and Thul-Mir-Rukan, large panels in the temples of Bhitargaon in Kanpur District and innumerable plaques found in a temple at Sahet-Mahet. There is a close similarity between the plaques at Sahet-Mahet and those of Pāhārpur. But the Pāhārpur plaques are unique in their richness and variety and are unrivalled anywhere else. Very similar type of plaques have also been found at Mahasthan in Bogra District, Sabhar in Dacca District and at the Dah Parbatiya temple near Tezpur in Assam. Chronologically these sites more or less belong to the same period as that of the Pāhārpur temple, and it is apparent that the art of using terracotta plaques in adorning the exterior of the temples and other monuments had been well established in the eastern part of India from the seventh century A.D. onward.

Descriptions of the terracotta plaques from Pāhārpur.

63.37 Warrior. Ht. 22.5 cms. × Br. 22 cms.

Terracotta plaque with a warrior in flying posture holding a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left; face much worn out; left hand upper corner broken.

63.38 Human figure. Ht. 33 cms.

Fragmentary terracotta plaque with a seated male figure holding a small animal on his lap; wears earrings, a necklace, bracelets and anklets; right hand and left leg missing; face damaged.

63.39 Human figure. Ht. 32 cms.

Fragmentary terracotta plaque with a male figure in flying posture; wears a short *dhoti*, earrings and a necklace; hands and left leg missing. (Fig. 40a).

63.40 Human figure. Ht. 22.5 × Br. 25 cms.

Fragmentary terracotta plaque with a human figure standing in *tribhanga* pose; right hand and body damaged; legs missing.

63.41 Human figure. Ht. 34.5 × Br. 25 cms.

Fragmentary terracotta plaque with a standing male figure holding some object in his raised left hand; curly hair locks rest on shoulders; wears *dhoti*, bracelets, armlets and earrings; face damaged; left foot missing. (Fig. 40b).

63.42 Elephant. Ht. 28.5 × 26.5 cms.

Carved brick with an elephant standing on two hind legs; incurved trunk; body damaged. (Fig. 40c).

63.43 Bird. Ht. 27.5 × 18.5 cms.

Carved brick with a bird which appears like a goose.

63.44 Lotus medallion. Ht. 7 × Br. 8 cms.

Carved brick with a full lotus medallion. (Fig. 40d).

63.45 Carved brick. Ht. 13.5 × Br. 8.5 cms.

Ornamental brick with pointed ogee arch mouldings.

63.46 Carved brick. Ht. 21.5 × Br. 15 cms.

Fragmentary carved brick with lotus petal decoration at one end.



1. Buddha in meditation. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 65 × 43 cms.



2a. Buddha in meditation. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D.
68 × 52 cms.



2b. Buddha in meditation. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D.
66 × 50 cms.



3a. Buddha in meditation. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
65 × 47 cms.



3b. Buddha in meditation. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
27 × 25 cms.



4a. Buddha in meditation. Marble.
Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 9×7 cms.



4c. Jambhala or Kubera. Mirpurkhas. 5th century
A.D. Ht. 20 cms.



4b. Buddha seated in European fashion. Mirpurkhas.
5th century A.D. 16×15 cms.



4d. Pramatha. Mirpurkhas.
5th century A.D. Ht. 16 cms.



5a. Donor. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D.
72 × 31.5 cms.



5b. Donor.
Mirpurkhas,
5th century A.D.
17 × 16 cms.



5c. Dancer. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. 20 × 15.5 cms.



6a. Drummer, Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. 19 × 16.5 cms.



6b. Mithuna, Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. 20 × 15 cms.



6c. Elephant bracket, Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. 33 × 14.5 cms.



6d. Elephant bracket, Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. 28 × 16 cms.



7a. Elephant bracket. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D.
Ht. 12.5 cms.



7b. Lion. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. Ht. 16 cms.



8a. Lion attacking a wild boar. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 22 × 16 cms.



8b. Cobras in a forest. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 15.3 × 15 cms.



9a. A peacock and a peahen. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
21.5 x 16 cms.



9b. Geese, lotus and conch-shell. Mirpurkhas.
5th century A.D. Ht. 20 cms.



10a. Lotus rhizome carried by a Yaksha. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. 16.5×6.5 cms.



10b. Lotus rhizome carried by a Yaksha. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. Ht. 13 cms.



10c. Geese with floriated tails. Mirpurkhas, 5th century A.D. 25×22.5 cms.



11a. Goose in combination with masks. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 16 × 8 cms.



11b. Goose in combination with a mask. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 14.5 × 6.5 cms.



11c. Mask with palmates. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 17 × 12 cms.



12a. Horned masks. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 37.5 × 25 cms.

12b. Mask with stylised floral background. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 16 × 13.5 cms.



12c. Lion-head shaped mask. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 23 × 9 cms.





13a. Horned lion, Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
13 × 12.4 cms.



13b. Corinthian pilaster, Mirpurkhas.
5th century A.D. 17 × 16 cms.



13c. Brick decorated with acanthus leaves, Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
26 × 15 cms.



13d. Acanthus and diaper, Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
27 × 25.5 cms.



13e. Acanthus leaf moulding, Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
39 × 25 cms.



14a. Part of the capital. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
20 × 7.5 cms.



14b. Latticed screen. Mirpurkhas.
5th century A.D. 20.1 × 14.5 cms.



14c. Palmates on stepped pyramids. Mirpurkhas. 5th
century A.D. 20 × 18.5 cms.



14d. T-shaped ornamental brick. Mir-
purkhas. 5th century A.D. Ht. 21 cms.



14e. Floral meander. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D.
28 × 19 cms.



15a. Acanthus-leaf sheaves with stylised plants. Mirpurkhas. 5th century. A.D. 36 × 24 cms.



15b. Part of a garland. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 40 × 25 cms.



15c. Floral meander. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 38 × 25 cms.



15d. Chequer with border. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 25 × 21 cms.



15e. Deeply channelled acanthus leaves. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 16.5 × 15 cms.



15f. Acanthus leaf with a cone. Mirpurkhas. 5th century A.D. 15 × 15 cms.

[illegible]

वमन्मयेडेभराविसेसु । किउएन्नणाहितदिपुणुपवेसु । उवसि

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स्त्रियणक्कुसुमंजा
लिहिं देविदिंरंगेण
इहियदि मोहिउज
णुमगणामोयणि ।
दिं णं वमन्मदधण



कठरो । सुवतिहियठरो । एन्नइसुरवइ डोन्नइवसुमइ । चा ।

हंदिठएनिहश्चावमलु । संपन्नश्चंविंतिउसमलु । पइलइउम

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17. Above: Dancing and music. Below: Toilet scene. *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam. Dated 1540 A.D.



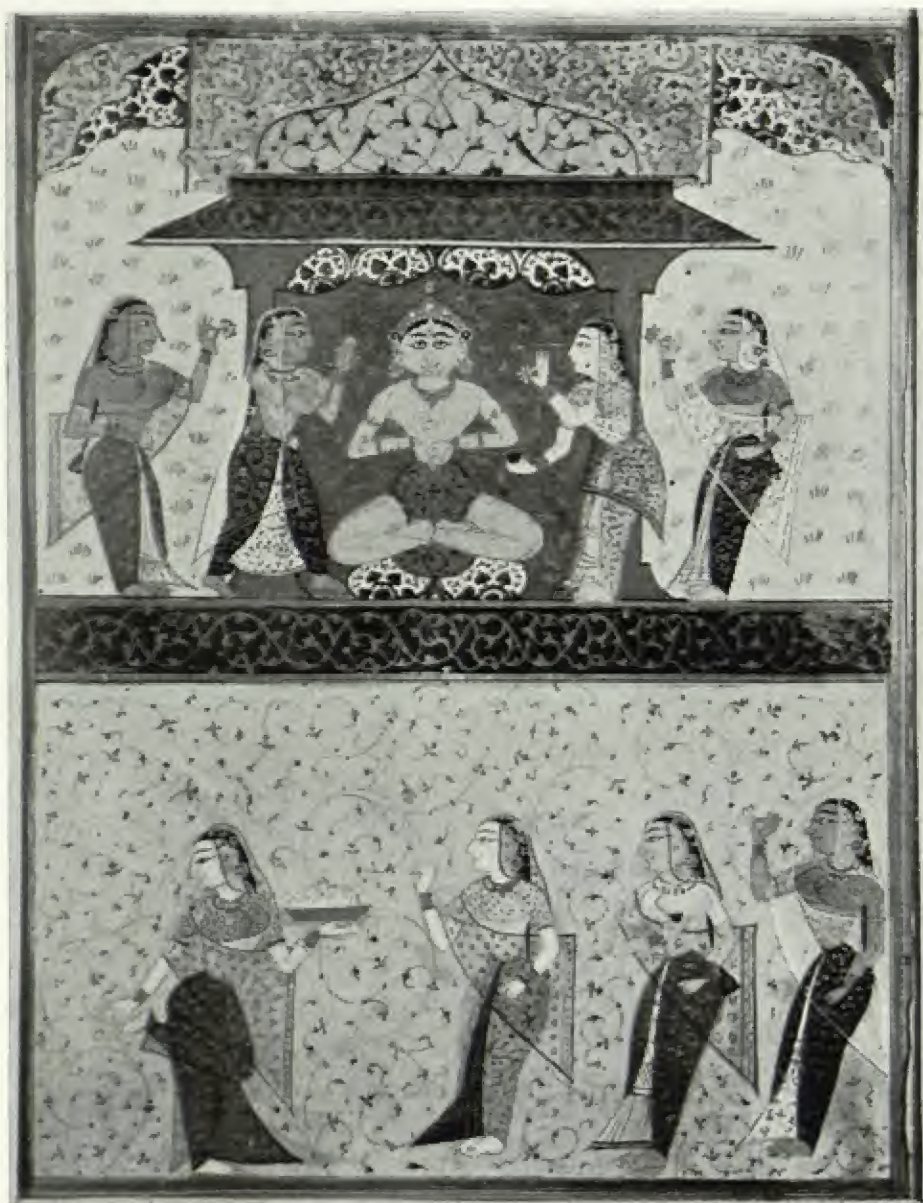
18a. Indra and Indrani being received by women. *Mahāpurāṇa* painted at Palam. Dated 1540 A.D.



18b. Ādinātha on siddhaśilā. *Mahāpurāṇa*. Painted at Palam. Dated 1540 A.D.



19. Above: Khānjahān holding court. Below: Four musicians. *Laur Chandā*, Jaunpur, U.P. (?). c. 1525-1550 A.D.



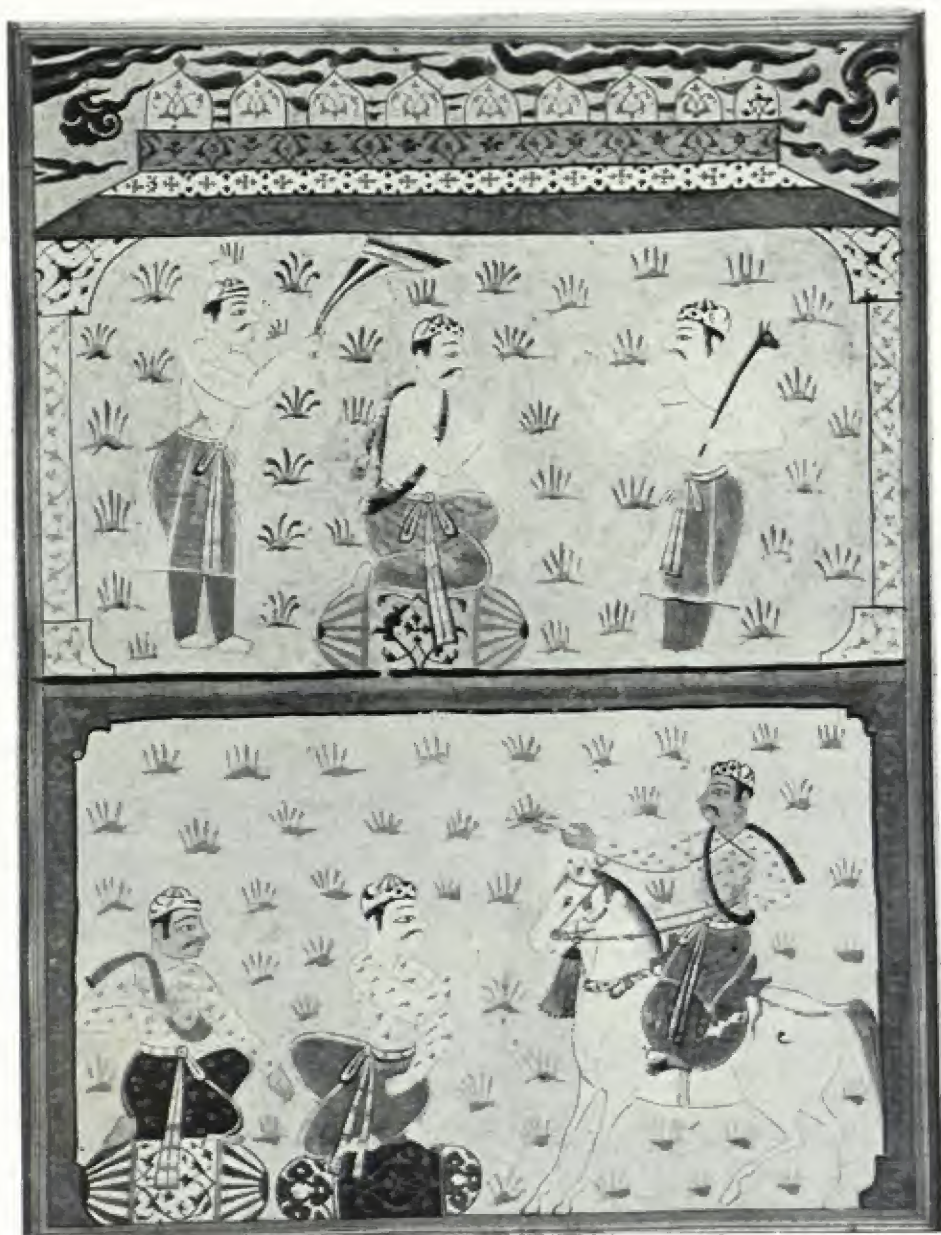
20. Above : The worship of Devi. Below : Women carrying articles of worship.
Laur Chandā, Jaunpur, U.P. (?). c. 1525-1550 A.D.



21. Above: Mairā seated on a bed. Below: Laur hearing the message of Mairā from a brahmin. *Laur G'andā* Jaipur, U.P. (?), c. 1525-1550 A.D.



22. Chandā fanning Laur sleeping under a tree on the battle-field. *Laur Chandā*. Jaunpur, U.P. (?) c. 1525-1550 A.D.



23. Above: Laur conversing with Rão. Below: Laur conversing with two attendants. *Laur Chandâ*. Jaunpur, U.P. (?). c. 1525-1550 A.D.



24. Above: Mir Masud conversing with Laur. Below: Fight between Malā and Chandā. *Laur Chandā*, Jaunpur, U.P. (?), c. 1525-1550 A.D.



25a. A girl of Chinese extraction from India. *Sikandar Nāma*. Late 15th century. A.D.



25b. The Water of Life. *Sikandar Nāma*. Late 15th century A.D.



26a. Sikandar holding his court. *Sikandar Nāma*. Late 15th century A.D.



26b. Mourning for the dead (syāpa). *Sikandar Nāma*. Late 15th century A.D.



27a. Hamza meeting a learned man. *Hamza Nāma*. Tübingen. Late 15th century A.D.



27b. Hamza meeting the water carrier. *Hamza Nāma*. Tübingen. Late 15th century A.D.



28a. Hamza meeting his lady lover. *Hamza Nāma*. Tübingen. Late 15th century A.D.



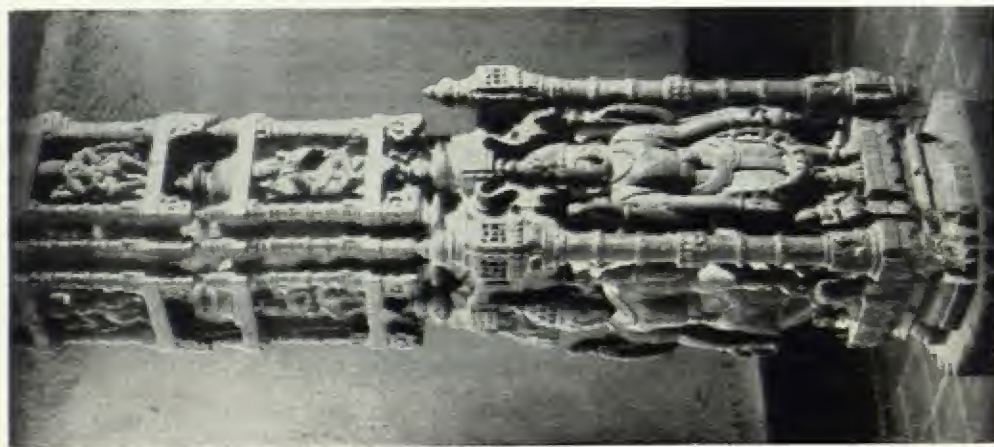
28b. Hamza in a garden. *Hamza Nāma*. Tübingen. Late 15th century A.D.



29. Painted wooden maṇḍapa from Gujarat. Late 16th century A.D.



30b. Octagonal Dome, Detail from Fig. 29.



30a. Detail of a pillar, Detail from Fig. 29.



31a. Female Dancer. Detail from Fig. 29.



31b. Musician. Detail from Fig. 29.



31c. Another view of the dome. Detail from Fig. 29.



32a



32b



32c



32d

32a. Fourteen dreams of Devānandā. Detail from Fig. 29. **32b.** Marriage procession. Detail from Fig. 29.
32c. Dancing and music. Detail from Fig. 29. **32d.** Ceremonial procession. Detail from Fig. 29.



33a. Preaching in a Jain temple. Detail from Fig. 29.



33b. A Jain woman in a chariot and the procession. Detail from Fig. 29.



33c. Procession of elephants. Detail from Fig. 29.



34a. Standing Gapeśa. Vadaval. North Gujarat. Early mid 9th century A.D.



34b. Brāhmi with Aindrī. Vadaval. North Gujarat. Early mid 9th century A.D.



35a. Māheshvarī. Vadaval. North Gujarat. Early mid 9th century A.D.



35b. Kaumārī. Śiva Vṛṇādhara and Pārvatī. Vadaval. North Gujarat. Early mid 9th century A.D.



36a. Aindri with Brāhmī, Vadaval, North Gujarat. Early mid 9th century A.D.



36b. Vārāhī, Vadaval, North Gujarat. Early mid 9th century A.D.



37a. Vaishnavī, Vadaval, North Gujarat.
Early mid 9th century A.D.



37b. Chāmunda, Vadaval, North Gujarat.
Early mid 9th Century A.D.



37c. Bhairava, Vadaval, North Gujarat.
Early mid 9th century A.D.



38. Lintel and out-door pieces of the door-frame from Śiva temple at Kerāṅ (Kutch), 10th century A.D.



39. Pārvatī. Vadaval. North Gujarat. c. 800 A.D.



40a. Human figure. Pāhārpur. 8th century A.D. Ht. 32 cms.



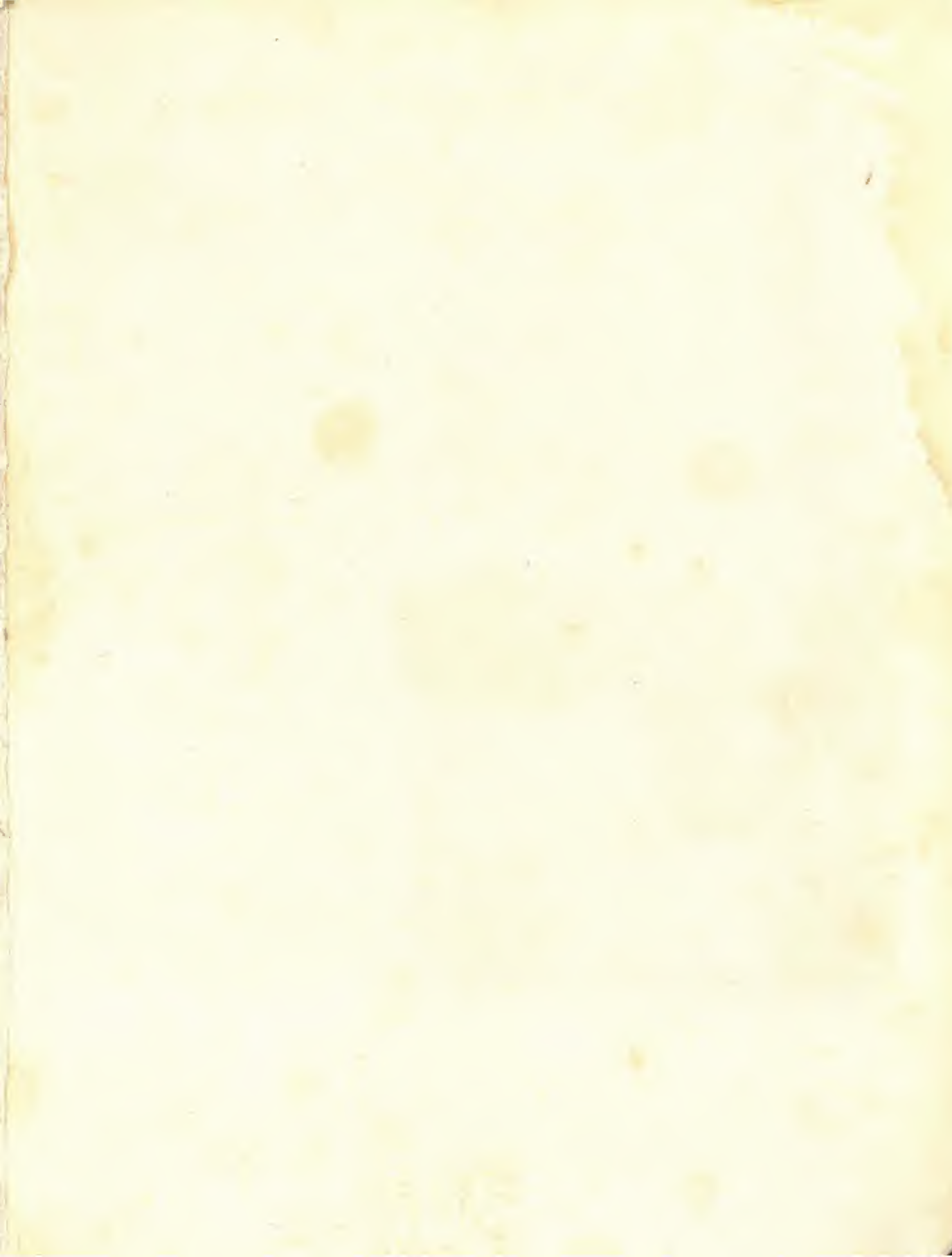
40b. Human figure. Pāhārpur. 8th century A.D. 34.5 × 25 cms.



40c. Elephant. Pāhārpur. 8th century A.D. 28.5 × 26.5 cms.



40d. Lotus medallion. Pāhārpur. 8th century A.D. 8 × 7 cms.



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